

ERGATIVITY IN KINNAURI

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Linguistics

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September 2017

Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis titled **“ERGATIVITY IN KINNAURI”** submitted by **HARVINDER KUMAR NEGI** to the Department of Linguistics, University of Delhi, Delhi, for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is a faithful record of the bonfide research work carried out under our supervision and the work has not been submitted, in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

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Certificate of Originality

The research work embodied in this thesis entitled “Ergativity in Kinnauri” has been carried out by me at the Department of Linguistics, University of Delhi, Delhi, India. The manuscript has been subjected to plagiarism check by Turnitin Plagiarism detection software. The work submitted for consideration of award of Ph.D. is original.

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Dedication

To my mother, Late Smt. Mal Chandi

Acknowledgements

This dissertation could be completed due to the support and encouragement of numerous people, whom I owe my gratitude. To top the list, I remember my mother on this occasion; she passed away while I was away from her on a year long visiting fellowship to UC Berkeley. She could attend school till standard five only and knew the value of education. She bore all the pain and made sacrifices to groom and send me and my siblings to school. I am grateful for the funding I received from MHRD, Govt. of India, through the UGC- Senior Research Fellowship to enable me to pursue my research work. I also thank USIEF for the Fulbright- Nehru Visiting Research Fellowship to pursue research at UC Berkeley.

I am deeply indebted to Professor Pradeep Kumar Das, with whom I not only begin this study but his kind acceptance to continue to enrich my inquiry with his supervision even though he left to join JNU. Later, my work was assigned to Professor Ramesh Chand Sharma who guided and supported me all through the course of this work. He went out of the way to help me complete the thesis when I missed deadlines for the thesis submission. I could not have made it through the tough times of my research without the moral support and collective persistence of both of my supervisors who always encouraged me and ensured that the research was completed. I am also thankful to the teachers at the department: Prof. Tista Bagchi, Dr. Shobha Satyanath, Dr. Tanmoy Bhattacharya, Dr. Gail, Madam Mamta and our former teacher Prof. R. Gargesh, for their encouragement.

The administrative staff of the Linguistics Department helped me through the administrative processes of the university while I was seeking funds or during the time of thesis submission. My humble thanks to them also.

Deepak has been a great support since my days of Masters. I thank him for his support during my hard times which were aplenty. Sana was another dear friend I could rely during my hard times. I thank her for her support. Anil deserves special mention for he agreed to share his paper on Kangri with me which I have used in this thesis.

Thanks a lot Anil. I thank all my friends in the department and outside: Arun, Pratibha, Richa, Bidisha, Kailadboi Daimai, Surjit Singh and others for their support and encouragement. Special thank to my friend from Iraq, now America, Mohd. Saif for his support and encouragement. It was very nice of him to come and see me when I was home sick in US.

The successful completion of the thesis is also credited to my father who understood pressure of my work and allowed me to concentrate on my work with out any pressure. I owe a lot to my brother- Bittu, sisters- Choti, Pinki, Salochana and Kusum for their moral support, personal attention, encouragement, and for having trusted in my ability to finish the thesis. I thank Prof. James Matisoff for agreeing to be my advisor during my stay at the UC Berkeley as a visiting scholar and encouraging me through his insightful commets on Tibeto Burman linguistics. I thank Prof. Anju Saxena for her suggestions and encouragement in my work. I also thank Manuel, Christian Huber and Saartjee for sharing their work with me and for all their suggestions and comments.

Tanvi deserves a special mention, she supported me through thick and thin of my life till she gave up on her patience. I thank her for all her support and sacrifices with me during the course of my research. She was the one who had to face my mood swings and frustrations during my tough times. She has always been very supportive and had patience to bear it all. Thank you.

Delhi

12 September, 2017

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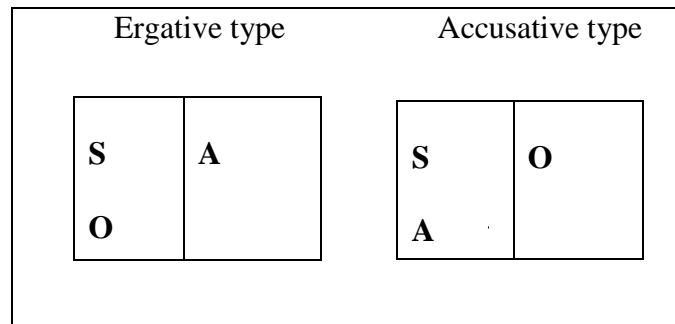
CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

The present thesis seeks to explore and analyze morphological ergativity in Kinnauri, a Tibeto-Burman language of Kinnaura tribe of Himachal Pradesh in India. Ergativity has always been a theme to fascinate linguistic inquiries due to the fact of its rarity among the word languages. In general terms, ergativity refers to a case marking transitive subject, in contrast to the nominative or absolutive marking intransitive subject and transitive object (Dixon 1994). At the morphological level, such a grammatical pattern is seen as different from the familiar grammatical pattern called as accusative type in which both the intransitive and the transitive subject are marked by nominative case and the transitive object is marked by an accusative case. Such a contrast in case marking is schematized as follows.

Fig. 1 Accusative and Ergative schemata



In the literature on ergative, S, A and O are regarded as the primitivesⁱ that stand for; S is intransitive subject (Si), A is transitive subject (St) and O is direct object of the transitive verb. In terms of ergative case marking schemata the relationship between the primitives appears as shown in the table 1.

Table 1 Ergative Nominative case schemata

	Nominative-Accusative	Ergative- Absolutive
S	Nom	Abs
A	Nom	Erg
O	Acc	Abs

The contrast in the types of the grammatical patterns is also shown by marking of syntactic functions by particles, by pronominal cross referencing and by the constituent order, though constituent order is not a reliable way to identify ergative pattern.ⁱⁱ

1.2 Goals of the Thesis

The study is expected to address ergativity in Kinnauri by identifying and analyzing the case marking of the core arguments (S, O, A) and the nature of cross referencing of the verb and its arguments in the nominal and verbal domain, respectively. Kinnauri is a split ergative language which shows ergative pattern in perfective aspect. The present study will follow the typological framework with the aim to analyze, describe and compare the ergativity pattern in the language. Analysis of data is done keeping Dixon's primitives S, A, and O at the centre of describing the morphological marking and verbal agreement in Kinnauri. Such a framework is most for the present study considering that it is primed to be a general typological study to understand the alignment pattern in a language on which little previous literature is available, especially on the syntax of the language. Other theoretical models that are used to analyze ergativity have restricted scope and serves limited purpose.

1.3 Kinnauri and its Speakers

Kinnauri is spoken by the Kinnaura tribe of Kinnaur district in Himachal Pradesh in India. Kinnaur is divided into three administrative sub- regions; Nichar, Kalpa and Pooh. Prior to becoming a separate district, Kinnaur was part of erstwhile Mahasu district and was previously called Chinni tehsil.ⁱⁱⁱ On May 1, 1960, Kinnaur was made a separate district and named Kinnaur that consisted of the Chinni tehsil and fourteen Kinnauri speaking villages of Mahasu district. The newly created district was linguistically, culturally and racially distinct from the rest of the State of Himachal Pradesh.

The indigenous term used for Kinnauri is *kanoringskad*. The language is spoken by most of the people in Kinnaur. It is also used as a lingua franca by people in Kinnaur who speak different languages. The language is spoken in areas starting from the western part of the district that touched Shimla (Mahasu previously) and moved towards its northeastern side where it meets the international border of Tibet. In the villages along the boundary of Shimla, influence of the languages from across the boundary is clearly visible. Here the language spoken is closer to the western Pahari group of Indo-Aryan language family. Beginning from the Chorra village, the expanse of Kinnauri continues to the eastward to Kalpa and further right upto Thangi village of Pooh sub division to the northern end. According to the Census 2011,^{iv} population of the district is 84,121 which include native as well as non natives who work in the government offices or are engaged in business, self employment or study educational institutions. The exact number of fluent speakers of Kinnauri can estimated to be around 40000.^v The use of Kinnauri in Pooh sub division continues to decline as the languages spoken here bear a considerable influence of Bhoti which is closer to Tibetan and is distinct from Kinnauri.

Kinnauri is a transitional language at the juncture of IndoAryan and Tibeto-Burman languages and linguistically it is a mix of vocabulary items from Indo-Aryan, Munda vocabulary and Tibeto-Burman languages (Konow 1905). The term ‘Kinnauri’ is

often used as an umbrella term for languages of Kinnaur. It must be noted that other than Kinnauri, there are six other languages spoken in Kinnaur. The present study focus on the Kinnauri which is spoken by a large majority of people and is often called the proper Kinnauri.

1.3.1 History of Kinnaura People

Kinnaur is an oral community with no writing traditions. All the information on the early history and life of the people in Kinnaur are available in the form of oral literature, legends and mythological accounts. Kinnaura tribe has inhabited the region since the earliest known times. Ancient Hindu literature like the Vedas and Puranas has descriptions about the present day Kinnaura. Their land has been mentioned as the '*Land of Gods*' due to the purity of life that was found here. Native people are god fearing and believe in karma; each village has a deity which has an immense influence on the people and their daily lives. According to a legend, when people from the plains first reached here, they exclaimed, '*kim nara,*' meaning, 'What kind of men!!!' since they looked distinct and had a unique way of living as compared to the people from the northern plains of (ancient) India. They have been described as someone who are between humans and gods or '*half men- half god.*' The term 'Kinner' which over a period of time got parenthesized into Kinaura or the present day Kannaure, means half god- half man. Intermittently, in earlier times, the Kirats and the Munda people travelled through this region. Traces of their language and culture is still found in these groups.

Kinnaure people are animist in their belief and practices. In recent times, due to modernization and increased contact with other regions, Hinduism and Buddhism are being followed. Religious chants and prayers are performed in cases of illness, disputes, for success in family or for a good harvest etc. Agriculture is the main occupation of the tribe. They love singing and dancing after a hard day's work. Traditional songs and chants are performed during agricultural cycle for the success of family and crops.

1.3.2 Kinnauri Nomenclature

In literature, Kinnauri is mentioned differently by various scholars. Cunningham (1843), was among the earliest to notice the language of Kinnaur^{vi} which he called 'kunawar.' He noted five language varieties that were spoken in Kunawar which were- 'milchan' or the present day Kinnauri, it was the common language of people, 'thebarskad' it was spoken in Lippa Kanam valleys, the language of labrang and kannu, sunnam language and bhotea. Cunningham noted that these different language speakers were of the same race and lived in valleys secluded from each other. Gerard (1842) earlier added another language, that of schedule caste people or the language of kolis or chamars. This was different from the other kinauris.

B.H. Hodgson, who pioneered Tibeto-Burman philology, divided the languages of Himalayan tribes into pronominalized and non pronominalized languages. Konow (1905), noted that languages of kanawar show characteristics of a pronominalized type. That time, there were 19525 speakers of kanawari, (1901 census). Since most Tibeto-Burman languages were believed to be non-pronominalized and that the pronominalized languages had traces of non Tibeto-Burman languages. Hodgson brought the analogy of Tibeto-Burman and Munda languages and assumed that Munda tribe must have once lived in the Himalayas at places where traces of Munda are found. Konow prepared the material on Kanawari language for Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India (LSI). He noted that Kanawari is a mixed language that has vocabulary items from Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages, and Kuki Chin dialects. Bailey (1909) noted that the language is called kunoros which he named Kanauri. He noted that the languages were divided into four types. Kanauri proper which was the language spoken by majority of the people, lower Kanauri which was closer to the neighboring Indo-Aryan languages, theborskad spoken in Lippa, anam, valleys, and languages of Rakcham and Chitkul. He also noted that people in the upper region touching Tibet speak a language closer to Tibet.

Among the recent contributions, Sharma (1988), Sharma (1972), Saxena (1992) are prominent. Sharma (1988), noted five Kinnauri varieties- Kinnauryanuskad or standard Kinnauri spoken in lower Kinnaur, Thebarskad spoken in kanam to Pooh

valleys, Nyamskad spoken in upper Kinnaur i.e. upper region of Pooh division, Chutkuli spoken in Rakcham and Chitkul villages of sangla valley in lower Kinnaur and an Indo-Aryan variety known as Harijan Kinnauri. Negi (2016) describes seven varieties of language spoken in Kinnaur which are- Kinnauri proper, Chitkul-Rakchami, Sunnami, Shumcho, Jangrami, Bhoti and the Harijan Kinnauri.

1.3.3 Linguistic Classification of Kinnauri

Kinnauri is placed in the subgroup of West Himalayish languages of the Tibeto-Burman language family (Saxena 1992). The language is spoken in the tribal district of Himachal Pradesh in North India. Kinnauri is also used as a generic term for all languages of Kinnaur. There are seven languages spoken in the region. Table 2, shows the geographical distribution of Kinnauri languages.

Table 2. Languages of Kinnaur (Sharma 1988)

Languages	Sub-region
Kinnauri Proper ^{vii}	Lower Kinnaur, Moorang tehsil and Ropa valley
Jangrami	Jhangi, Lippa, Asrang
Shumcho	Kanam valley
Sunnam	Sunnam in Ropa valley
Bhoti Kinnaur	Pooh tehsil in Upper Kinnaur
Rakcham- Chitkul	Rakcham, Chitkul in Sangla valley
IA Kinnauri	Lower Kinnaur

The earliest classification of languages of Kinnaur, as in Fig. 2, appeared in Konow in Grierson (1909: 530). He classified Kanawari among the highly pronominalized languages.

Fig. 2 Classification of Kinnauri (Grierson 1909)

Tibeto-Burman
 Tibetan
 Himalayan languages
 Western subgroup
 Kanawari

Shafer (1967) improved on Grierson's classification and renamed western subgroup to west Himalayish. He classified Theborskad (Thebor) as a separate language from Kinnauri but of the same sub group. The regrouped classification is shown in fig 3.

Fig. 3 Classification of Kinnauri (Shafer 1967)

Sino-Tibetan
 Bodic Divison
 West Himalayish Section
 Thebor
 Kanauri

Benedict (1972) postulated Tibeto-Kinnauri to be a separate branch of Tibeto-Burman sub group and Nishi (1990) gave the classification of West-Himalayish. Saxena (1992) is the latest in the classification of Kinnauri which is now widely accepted as a generic classification of Kinnauri. She grouped the languages as West Himalayish. See fig.4.

Fig. 4. Classification of Kinnauri (Saxena 1992)

Tibeto-Burman
 Bodic
 Bodish
 Tibeto-Kinnauri

- Tibetan
 - West Himalayish
 - a) Kinauri-Patani, Tinan
 - b) Thebor-Gahri, Rangpa, Chaudangsi, Darmya

The classification of Kinnauri languages is unclear. All previous classifications place all varieties of Kinnauri under Kinnauri in west Himalayish. With very clear grammatical and lexical differences in Kinnauri languages show that these languages belong to more than one branch. Quoting Manuel (2014), “There is evidence that this western branch can be further subdivided into a “Lahaul subgroup” comprising Manchad and Tinan and a “Kinnaur subgroup”, comprising Kanashi, Lower Kinnauri, Standard Kinnauri, Chitkhuli, Jangrami, and Shumcho.” A comparative lexical data study of Bunan, Sunnami, and Rongpo supports a subgroup within the eastern branch of West Himalayish (Manuel 2014). A final classification looks like in fig 5.

Fig. 5 Classification of Kinnauri languages (Manuel 2014)

Tibeto-Burman

Bodic

Bodish

Tibeto-Kinnauri

Tibetan

West Himalayish

Western Himalayish:

Lahauli

**Kinnauri- Kanashi, Lower Kinnauri,
Chitkuli, Jangrami, Shumcho**

Eastern Himalayish:

Central- Bunan, **Sunnami**, Rongpo

Bhoti Kinnauri is placed in Tibetic sub-group under Lahaul-Spiti branch. See fig. 6

Fig. 6 classification of Bhoti Kinnauri (Tournadre 2014)

Sino-Tibetan

Bodic

Bodish

Tibetic

Lahauli-Spiti

Bhoti Kinnauri

Pahari Kinnauri is a caste based variety of Kinnauri, known as harijan Kinnauri and is spoken peasants and artisans in lower kinnari. Pahari Kinnauri belongs to the West Pahari subgroup of the InDO-Aryan language family of the InDO-European branch. See fig. 7for classification.

Fig. 7 Classificaion of Pahari Kinnauri (Saxena 2012)

InDO-European

InDO-Iranian

InDO-Aryan

Northern zone

Western Pahari

Harijan Kinnauri

1.4 Previous Studies in Kinnauri

Kinnauri like most of the Tibeto-Burman languages is an under documented. The earliest available resources on the language are in the form of travel diaries and the official documents maintained by the officers of the British India era. They lack any genuine linguistic description and include mostly commentary on topography of the region. Among the earliest researchers to give an account of the Kinnaura people were Atkinson (1884), Konow (1905), and Bailey (1909). Grierson (1916) gave a sketchy description of the Kinnauri language^{viii} though he also failed to account for the other

languages in Kinnaur. Bailey also provided very brief structural descriptions of Kinnauri in his later writings (Bailey 1920, 1938). Joshi (1909) produced a Kinnauri glossary and sketchy description of Kinnauri.

Though sketchy linguistic description of the language in Kinnaur by these early researchers, they recorded the similarity of the language with the Munda languages of Central India. Grierson (1916), Chatterjee and Das (1963) described Kinnauri as a variant of Munda group of languages but they did not elaborate on its basic features. Konow (1905) and Grierson (1916) noticed Munda elements being prominent in the Kinnauri language and wondered the ancient Munda influence on the West Himalayan languages of Tibeto-Burman family. He linked the languages of Kinnaur and other languages found in the present day Himachal Pradesh, Lahauli and Chambyali, with that of Munda languages and the Mon Khmer languages (LSI Vol. 1, P-1, Pg. 59).

Some of the characteristics that Kinnauri shares with the Munda languages are vigesimal numeral system, few morphological elements common to both the languages like-

Fig 8. Munda/ Kinnauri/Gloss/

aba;aba	/father/
bakla: baklas	/thick/
pushi:pishi	/cat/
mid: id	/one/
zom (eat): zorme	/born/
lang: le	/tongue/. ^{ix}

Another talking point is the similarity of the numeral system and other linguistic elements from the Zhang Zhung language. The influence is found more on the Chitkuli and the upper Kinnauri language. The submergence of the language seems to have taken through the Bon religion that spread to these parts as well. Traces are also found in lower Kinnauri language as well. The exact numeral system in Kinnauri and the Zhang Zhung attests some contact with the latter.

Among the earliest works on Kinnauri, language and area was initiated by the Europeans. Their work though was not systematic due to their varied objectives of the study, still they provide us useful information on the language and people during the late 18th and early 19th century which is very valuable for an oral community and language like Kinnauri. Some of the important early contributions on Kinnauri are as listed-

- Gerald, A. A vocabulary of Koonawar language- JASB 11. 1842
Darvey, C.J. A vocabulary of Kinnauri. 1844
Tribe, W.H. The Kinnauri language. Punjab Notes and queries. 1884
Konow, Sten. Some facts connected with TB dialects spoken in Kinnaur.
ZDMG, 59. 1905.
Rev. Bruski. Kinnauri translation of the gospel of saint Mrk. 1905
Bailey. T.G. A short grammar of standad Kinnauri. 1909
Bailey. T.G. English- Kinnauri and Kinnauri- English vocabulary. 1910-11
Joshi, T.R. a grammar and dictionary of kanawari. 1909
Hodson, T.C. numeral system of TB dialects. JRAS. 1913
Grierson, A.G. LSI Vol. 3, Pt.1, 1916
Bailey. T.G. Linguistic studies from the hamalayas. 1920
Bailey. T.G. Studies in north Indian languages. 1938

A good account of life and people of Kinnaur is found in Rahul Sankrityayan's book titled 'Kinnar Desh' - the land of Kinnars (1948). He was a traveler and a scholar of Himalayan studies. His description of the land and people of the western Himalayas during the 50s is widely appreciated for its authenticity. In his book, he noted common words in Kinnauri and Hindi, Sanskrit, Bhoti and Kirat languages.

Among recent work on Kinnauri are included manuscripts from BR Sharma (1982), Ramasubramaniam (1966) and Saxena (1992). These resources provide a good account of linguistic and non linguistic information of the language and people. Sharma (1982) in 'Kinnar Lok Sahitya,' is a significant resource on oral life of Kinnaur. Saxena (1992) produced a detailed analysis of verb morphology of Kinnauri.

A descriptive grammar is available on the Kinnaur language by DD Sharma (1988). Saxena has worked extensively on Kinnauri of lower Kinauri.^x Linguistics department at the University of Delhi conducted field study course on Kinnauri^{xi} produced dissertations on different topics in Kinnauri language. Peoples Linguistic Survey of India (PLSI: 2014) contributed in generating a healthy corpus of Kinnauri data in the form of oral literature.^{xii} Such a corpus can be valuable for future researchers and language speakers of an oral language like Kinnauri, which is facing a real threat from being lost to Hindi,^{xiii} for future use in the revitalization efforts.

1.5 Vitality and Bilingualism

Kinnauri language has been listed by UNESCO Atlas of Languages in Danger as a definitely endangered language with the new generation no more learning it as a first language. Fluent speakers of the language are mostly elderly people above the age of forty years (Negi 2012). The tribe DOESN'T have writing system or a script which makes the language and rich oral legacy vulnerable to being lost. Oral literature of Kinnaur is the only source of information and a window to the folk life of people who have lived here since the earliest times. Young people have started moving away from traditional occupations and often travel outside the region for education and employment. In schools in Kinnauri, medium of classroom instructions is Hindi and even outside classroom or at home, Hindi is the preferred language. Due to no exposure to Kinnauri, the medium of classroom instructions is either Hindi or English in school in Kinnaur, even at home Hindi is the preferred language of communication due to which the children lack in exposure to the Kinnauri language. It is only elderly people who still remember or want to talk about traditional cultural practices. Most of them are monolingual, knowing only Kinnauri, and share a sense of despair for the future of oral legacy.

1.6 Study Design

The study included both direct and indirect method. It involved Field research and also accessing library resources to analyze existing literature in the language. Primary data was collected through direct interviews in the selected villages in Kinnauri. Interviews were conducted with people of all ages to collect a representative data. The data collected include interviews, audio recordings of the day to day conversations in natural settings that include personal narratives of genres folklore, songs and life stories. Secondary sources were accessed to form a theoretical background on the language and the area.

Data for the present study was collected mainly from villages Kalpa, Ropa, Kothi and Pangi. I also interviewed informants from Sunnam, Kanam and Pooh villages to record other Kinnauri varieties like Sunnam Kinnauri, Shumcho Kinnauri and InDO Aryan Kinnauri. Though, their description DOes not form part of the present study.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter I is an introduction of study. Chapter II will give an overview of Kinnauri and describe typological characteristics of the language. Chapter III will discuss ergativity and early works in the concept. Since this thesis will be based on Dixon's conceptualization of ergativity, his work will be in focus in the chapter. Chapter IV will study ergativity in Kinnauri by analyzing simple and complex sentences. To describe ergative alignment case marking patterns, agreement system and constituent orders in Kinnauri simple and complex sentences will be analyzed. Chapters V discuss ergativity in Kangri and some other Tibeto-Burman languages. This analysis will be based on typological perspective and Dixon's criteria of ergative patterning. Chapter VI is conclusion.

In the past, we DO not find any description of alignment or ergative patterning in Kinnauri. Most pervious work concentrated on historical, phonology or sociolinguistics description of the language. A detailed discussion on alignment properties of the language has been eluded so far. The thesis will make a significant contribution to the existing literature on Kinnauri.

1.9 Typological Characteristics of Kinnauri

Typologically, languages are grouped in language types based on similarities or differences in their phonology, syntax and morphology (Crystal 1987). Greenberg proposed that similarities and identities among languages help in analyzing languages. Languages differ structurally in their sounds, grammatical properties and lexicon that universals are very difficult to enlist. Greenberg Universals (1963), classified languages according to the basic constituent order of subject, object and verb (SOV). The constituent order helps to predict other features in the language. Kinnauri has a SOV word order. Greenberg (1963) drew the following correlates based on his study of languages with OV constituent order;

Table 3 Features of OV languages (Greenberg (1963))

Features	Correlation
Adposition	Postpositions
Affixes	Suffixes
Auxiliaries	Verb-Aux
Comparatives	Standard-Marker-Adj
Head noun/ genitive	Gen.-Noun
Head noun/modifier	Mod- Noun
Head noun/relative clauses	Rel. Cl.- Noun
Question particles	Sentence final

Kinnauri, having a SUB-OBJ-VERB constituent order, exhibits nearly all characteristics of a SOV language with some exceptions. This section presents the typological characteristics of Kinnauri based on the correlates provided by Greenberg (1963) most of which though were disproved in later studies, but it still remains relevant in typological studies and in comparative linguistics.

1. Basic Word Order:

Kinnauri is a verb final language, i.e. the verb appears in final position in the sentence. Let us see some examples:

Simple sentences

1. chang kitaab hushid du
boy-nom paper-acc read pre
SUB OBJ VERB Aux
'The boy reads a book.'

2. gi kimo□ biyo duk
I-nom water-acc drink-prog pre
SUB OBJ VERB Aux
'I am going home.'

Declarative sentence

- 3 gi seo jac duk
I-nom apple eat-perf be-1S-pre
'I eat apple.'

Imperative sentence

- 4 angu seo kain
me-dat apple-nom give-pre
'Give me apple.'

2. Interrogative sentences:

The constituents order in interrogative sentence is similar, i.e. SOV. In Question sentences, Wh-words remain in situ, i.e. there is no obligatory 'Wh- movement' but scrambling of question word is allowed.

Questioning the Subject: Wh-OV

5 hais corasu cumshid
 who-erg thief-acc catch-pst
 Wh(SUB) OBJ VERB
 ‘Who caught the thief?’

Questioning the direct object (DO): S-Wh- V

6 do-s thid ringa
 he-erg what say-pst

 SUB Wh VERB
 ‘What did he say?’

Questioning the indirect-object: S- DO –Wh-V

7 ki-s ju seo hamc zog-zog
 you-erg this apple-acc from where buy-pst
 SUB DO Wh VERB
 ‘From where did you buy this apple?’

3. **Word Order in ‘Yes-No’ Questions:**

‘Yes-No’ Questions follow SOV word order. Question morpheme ‘-a’ is suffixed at the end of the verb. ‘Yes- No’ question is marked by the rise in pitch in the last syllable of the sentence.

8 kinu akha towa
 you-nom pain be-pre-Q
 ‘Do you have pain?’

9 kaku nasom butoa
 kaku-nom tomorrow come-fut-Q
 ‘ Will Kaku come tomorrow?’

3. Causatives:

Kinnauri does not have too many causative constructions, if any, are represented by distinctive verb roots. Such verb roots occur after the main verb. Let us see examples.

3.1 Periphrastic causatives:

Periphrastic causative ‘shece’ in (10), follows the main verb.

- 10 do-s angu kamango shece
 he-erg me-acc work make-caus-pst
 ‘He send me to work.’

3.2. Lexical Causatives:

Lexical causative ‘ran’ in (11), comes at the verb position.

- 11 dos changanu ral pannu rana
 he-erg child-pl rice cook make-caus-pst
 ‘He made children cook the rice.’

4. Negative Sentences:

Negative Particle occurs pre-verbally i.e. it precedes the verb. In ex. (12), negative particle ‘ma’ occurs before verb ‘ja-ja’

12. choti-s khau ma jashid
 choti-erg food-acc neg eat-pst
 ‘Choti did not eat food.’

In emphatic sentences, particle occurs after the verb, depending on the context of the usage of sentence. In ex (13), ‘bim-hi’ is stressed.

13. gi kin kimo bimhi ma bibi
 I-nom your house-gen go-pst-emp neg- go-pst
 ‘I did not go to your house.’

Emphatic marker can occur after any word which has to be stressed.

14. gis-hi ma lanshid kin kamang
 I-erg emp neg do-perf your work
 ‘Only I did not do your work.’

5. Agreement: Verb shows agreement in person and number features but there is no grammatical gender. e.g., inflection of verb ‘jac’

15. gi jac duk
 I-nom eat-acc be-pre
 ‘I eat.’

16. kashanga Jac toc
 we-nom eat-acc be-pre
 ‘We eat.’

17 ka/ki jac ton/toin
 you-nom(nonhon/hon) eat be-nonhon/hon-pre
 ‘You eat.’

18 kina jac toc
 you-2p-pl-nom eat-acc be-pre
 ‘You (Pl) eat.’

19 do jac du
 they-3p-sg-nom eat-acc be-pres
 ‘He eats.’

20. doga jac du
 they-3p-pl-nom eat-acc be-pres
 ‘They eat.’

6. Verb: Verb root can be classified as simple and complex, based on their structure. A root is obtained by dropping an infinitive or verbal noun marker. There is very little scope of derived word in this language. Most of the simple roots are monosyllabic or polysyllabic.

7a. Simple roots

- 21. / bi / -go
- 22. / shi/ -die
- 23. / pai / -come (along)
- 24. / sarshii / -rise
- 25. / somcain / -think
- 26. / surin / -move around

7b. Derived roots

- 27. / legmik / -to burn
- 28. / pramig / -to spread
- 29. / cimig / - to clean

8. Auxiliary: The use of Auxiliary Verb is obligatory in locative predictive and tense. AUX always follows the main verb, as in many verb-final languages. The main verb ‘bi-/hacis’ precedes the auxiliary verb ‘to/du.’ In example (30), auxiliary is used in locative predicate.

30. gi bazaro biio tok/duk
 i-1p-sg-nom market-loc go-nonfut be-1s-aux-pre
 ‘I am going to the market.’

31. belaa teta hachis du
 time-nom what-q have-perf be-aux-pres
 ‘What is the time?’

32. gi kimo tok
I-1p-sg-nom market-loc be-1s-aux-pres
'I am at home.'

9. Adjective: Adjectives precede the head in a noun phrase. Structurally they can be simple and derived, and based on inflection they can be variable or non-variable. These are inflected for number and gender.

9a. Simple Adjectives:

mono-syllabic, non-variable:

/teg/elder, large,
/dam/ good,
/mari/ bad,
/lisk/ cold,
/las/ wet,
/gato/ small,
/muluk/ more,
/nyuk/ new,
/rok/ black,
/Thok/ white.

9b. Derived Adjectives:

root+suffixes, variable:

/had-sy¹/ which one (masc.),
/had-sye/ which one (fem.),
/jaad/ ate,
/gasa rang/ with clothes,
/gatosya chang/ younger child (masc.),
/gatosye chang/ younger child (fem.),
/tonshid/ fought,
/bishid/ went.

10. Postpositions: Kinnauri is a postpositional language and the postposition follows head noun. Postposition in the language has the same purpose as that of the case suffix. In example (33), post position ‘-o’ follows the head noun ‘shisha.’ In examples (34-35), post position ‘-d^l’ follow the respective head nouns and in example (36), post position ‘-u’ follows head noun ‘angu’.

33. gis anu shishao khyak
 I-erg self mirror-loc see-1s-pst
 ‘I saw myself in the mirror.’

34. angda muluk ze to
 I-dat many sheep be-pre
 ‘I have many sheep.’

35. kin-da teta ze to
 I-dat how sheep be-pre
 ‘How many sheep you have?’

36. angu seo ken
 I-dat apple give
 ‘Give apple to me.’

11. Genitive: Genitive follows the governing noun. In example below, genitive marker ‘-u’ follows the governing noun ‘dogos/ deshangu.’

37 dogosu kalam wali dam Du
 his-gen pen very good-adj be-3s-pre
 ‘His pen is very good.’

38 deshangu mi
 village-gen man
 ‘Village’s man.’

12. Adverb: Adverb precedes the verb, as in other SOV languages. In the example below, adverb ‘toro’ precedes the verb ‘tangkak.’

39 gis toro sita pang tanshid
 I-erg today sita-acc see-1s-pst
 ‘I saw Sita today.’

Time adverbial precedes the place adverbials. In example (40), ‘aigolo’ time adverb, precedes ‘dilli’ place adverbial.

40 gi kinu ai golo dilli-o chukshok
 I-nom youacc next month delhi-loc meet-fut
 ‘I will meet you in Delhi next month.’

13. Modifiers: Adjectives, demonstratives and numerals precede the head noun. In example below, adjective ‘dam’ precedes the head noun ‘gasa.’

41. jing dam gasa poruac du
 here-loc good clothes get be-pre.
 ‘Here good clothes are available.’

In (42), demonstrative ‘do’ precedes the head noun ‘boThang’.

42. do boThang lamas du
 that tree tall be-pre.
 ‘That tree is tall.’

In (43), numeral ‘id’ is preceding head noun ‘mi.’

43. id mi
 one man
 ‘One man.’

Adjectives, demonstratives and numerals precede the head noun in unmarked sequence. The language does not have articles. Referential determiners are found in this language.

14. Quantifier: Quantifiers precede the head noun in unmarked position. In examples (48-49), quantifiers ‘cai/ adang’ precedes the head nouns ‘miga/ gasa.’

44 cai miga juriashis du
 all-nom people-nom agree be-pre
 ‘All people are ready.’

45. do-s adang gasa zogshid
 he-erg almost all clothes buy-pst
 ‘He bought almost all clothes.’

15. Order of Determiner, Quantifier and Noun: Determiner, Quantifier and Noun follow the following order: D-Q-N. In (46-47), determiner ‘ju/ do’ precedes quantifier ‘sai/ nish’ which precedes the head noun ‘kima/ changa.’ In such ordering, adjectives can follow the head noun.

46 ju sai kima dam du
 these-det ten-quant house good be-pre
 ‘These ten houses are good.’

47 do nish changa akhas du
 those-det two-quant child ill be-pre
 ‘Those two children are ill.’

16. Marker of comparison: The marker of comparison follows the standard of comparison.

16a. Comparative construction: In the examples below, comparative marker ‘-ka’ follows the marker of comparison ‘mohan.’

48 sita mohan-ka lamas du
 sita-nom mohan- comp tall be-3s-pre
 ‘Sita is taller than Mohan.’

16b.Superlative construction: Superlative marker ‘-ku’ appear with quantifier, after the head noun and change in the position of comparative marker is not allowed.

49 biTTu caiku teg du
 bittu-Nom all-comp elder be-3S-pres
 ‘Bittu is the eldest.’

50. ju caiku yuk Du
 this-Nom all-comp new be-pres
 ‘This is the newest.’

17.Negative Polarity Item: The negative polarity items can appear only in negative environment in a sentence and are always licensed by negation. In sentences below, negative polarity items ‘bodi/hat-nang are licensed by negative ‘ma-’

51 gi do-varing bodi ma-nec duk
 I-Nom about him much Neg-do be-1S-pres
 ‘I don’t know much about him.’

52 do hat-nang bata ma-lanc du
 he-Nom anyone talk Neg-do be-3S-pres
 ‘He does not talk to anyone.’

18. Tense: Kinnauri show three way tense distinction; present past and non past or future. Marker for past and future is suffixed to the verb and present tense is attested lexically. There is distinction of person, number and honorificity in the inflection of the verb that marks tense while there is none for gender.

18a.Present tense:

53 gi dɛ m lɛ tu tok
 I-nom good boy be-pre
 ‘I am a good boy.’

18b. Past tense:

54 gi dam latu tokek
I-nom good boy be-1s-pst
'I was a good boy.'

55 ki dam latu token
You-Nom Good boy be-2S-pst
'You were a good.'

56 do dam latu dwe
He-nom good boy be-3s-pst
'He was a good boy.'

18c. Future tense:

57 gi dam mi hacok
I-nom good man be-1s-fut
'I will become a good man.'

19. Aspect: Aspect shows three way distinctions; perfective, imperfective and progressive, with markers suffixed to the main verb.

19a. Perfective Aspect: Suffix '-s' function as perfective aspect marker.

58 nu-s khau ja-ja du
he-erg food eat-perf be-3s-pre
'He has eaten the food.'

19b. Imperfective Aspect: The imperfective marker '-id' is suffixed to verb base.

59 anita ju skul-o hushid du
name-nom this school-loc study-imper be-3s-pre
'Anita studies in this school.'

19c. Progressive aspect marker: the marker is 'o' suffixed to verb. In the examples below, '-o' is suffixed to verb 'kuco.'

60 do angu kuco dwe
 he-Nom me call-prog be-3S-pst
 ‘He was calling me’

61 sita yocho du
 name-Nom play-prog be-3S-pres
 ‘Sita is playing.’

20. Infinitive: realized as ‘-mu’ which is suffixed to the bare verb roots. .

62 gi yɿ g-mu gyɿ o duk
 I-Nom sleep-INF wish be-1S-pres
 ‘I want to sleep.’

63 do yag-mu gyao du
 he sleep-inf wish be-3s-pres
 ‘He wish to sleep.’

64. do angu chukshmu gyao
 he me meet-inf wish
 ‘He wants to meet me.’

21. Anaphor: Anaphor follows the antecedent. Anaphor is co-indexed with the NP, which c-commands it. The language has only nominal anaphor.

21a. Order in reflexive anaphors:

65. kis angu jalli lancis
 you-erg self lie make-pst
 ‘You lied to yourself.’

66. gis angu-hi zali lank
 I-erg self lie make-pst
 ‘I lied to myself.’

21b. Order in reciprocal anaphors:

67. dogas ii-nishu kulshid
they-erg each other beat-pst
'They beat each other.'

68 kashanga ii-nishu kolang tamig□
we-Nom each other remember be-pre
'We should remember each other.'

22. Order in Reduplication: Nouns, adjectives and adverbs can be reduplicated.

22a. Nominal reduplication: In the sentence below 'kim' is reduplicated.

69 doga kimi-kimo biyo
they-Nom door-to-door go-pst
'They went door to door.'

70. doga i-i haco bida
they-Nom one by one be come-pst
'They came one by one.'

22b. Adjectival reduplication

71. lama-lama miga
tall man-3pl
'Tall men.'

22c. Adverbial reduplication: Here adverb 'mesang' is reduplicated.

72 do mesang-mesang yunc du
he-nom slowly walk be-3S-pre
'He walks slowly.'

When the verb is reduplicated, it functions as adverb. In (73), verb 'caasho' is reduplicated but after reduplication it functions as adverb.

73. do casho-casho shid
 he-nom dance die-pst
 ‘He died while dancing.’

23. Relative Clause: Main clause precedes the subordinate clause. Order of words in RC is SOV.

74. gis halek kui kak do rok du
 I-erg rel dog-ecc bring-pst that-co-rel black be-pres
 ‘The dog that I brought is black.’

- 75 ham ang kim du do deshang ropa du
 rel my-1s-gen house be-pres that-co-rel place ropa be-pres
 ‘Ropa is the place (village) where my house is situated.’

24. Conditional clause: There is no obligatory conditional marker for conditional clauses.

- 76 ki bima gi-lii butok
 you-nom go-con cl me-too come-fut
 ‘(If) You go I will also come.’

25. Complement clause: Complement clause precedes main clause, is realized as null.

- 77 do-s ringa-_T gi upaasang tok
 he-erg say-pst- comp I-abs hungry
 ‘He said that I am hungry.’

78. do ringo du-_T choti dam du□
 he-nom say-cont pres- comp choti fine be-pres
 ‘He is saying that Choti is fine.’

End Notes

ⁱ The primitives, S, A, and O, were first used by Dixon (1968, 72). Comrie (1978) replaced O with P in his work.

ⁱⁱ Ergative languages do not have a uniform constituent order. The word order can be SVO or SOV depending on the role of verb in the sentence.

ⁱⁱⁱ Mahasu is now known as Shimla which earlier was a princely state of the Raja of Bushahar at Rampur. After the reorganization of states in 1966, when Shimla district was formed after

^{iv} <http://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/240-kinnaur.html>

^v Considering that the population of Nichar and Kalpa sub divisions is nearly 60000 (Census 2011), and that it also includes large number of labor and other government employees in the two sub regions. Also, the younger generation is fluent in Hindi and don't speak Kinnauri at home or any other place.

^{vi} Kinnaur was known as kunawar when Cunningham travelled to the region.

^{vii} Kinnauri spoken in lower Kinnaur is the most commonly spoken and understood language. The variety used to be the lingua franca in the region before the introduction of Hindi here. It is now accepted as a standard Kinnauri or proper Kinnauri

^{viii} In earlier records, the present day Kinnauri was known as Kanawari or Kunawari or Coonawari

^{ix} M= Munda, and K=Kinnauri

^x Saxena, 1991, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2004.

^{xi} As part of the MA degree program, field methods course selected Kinnauri as the language for field work and worked on different topics of language description.

^{xii} The generated data included oral literature in the genre of folk songs, narratives, oral history, tales, word list, kinship and color terms.

^{xiii} Ethnologue, UNESCO Atlas of Languages in Danger list Kinnauri language as definitely endangered, with the language being replaced by Hindi as the main language in most domains of usage.

CHAPTER 2

Ergativity and Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

The phenomenon of ergativity can be explained in terms of the marking of a verb and its arguments in the clause. These arguments that are core of ergative analysis are subject of intransitive verb, subject of transitive verb and object of a transitive verb (Dixon 1994). The core arguments pattern in a way which is either nominative type or ergative type. In terms of case marking, the object of a transitive verb is case marked similar to the intransitive verbⁱ (absolutive) while the transitive subject is case marked differently from the two (ergative). This pattern contrasts with the nominative-accusative system in which the subject of transitive and intransitive are case marked alike (nominative), while the transitive objects is marked differently (accusative). In case marking patterning in the languages, nominative and absolutive are morphologically unmarked while ergative and accusative are marked.

In general terms, ergativity is defined as a grammatical pattern that languages use to display the relationship between a verb and its arguments, the arguments being subject of transitive and intransitive verbs and direct object of transitive verb. The studies in ergativity became a popular field of research after the publication of the papers by Comrie (1978) and Dixon (1979). Dixon had described Dyirbal language in a functional typological perspective in his seminal paper. The two papers described various aspects of an ergative language and demonstrated that no language is fully ergative and there are both ergative and non ergative features in languagesⁱⁱ.

Dixon (1994), estimated that one forth of world languages shows ergativity. Ergative languages are found in languages from diverse geographical and language familiesⁱⁱⁱ.

In his study, he described the following languages that show ergative pattern- Austronesian languages, Basque, Eskimo-Aleut languages, Caucasus in eastern Europe, Mayan languages, Pama-Nyungan languages in Australia, South American languages, and Tsimshian and Chinook in North America. His study found that African languages rarely show ergativity.

Comrie (1978) analyzed a sample of 190 languages; 32 of which did show ergative pattern by way of case-marking on the noun phrases. His studies found that ergativity is found mostly in the languages of Australia, the Caucasian, American, New Guinea, South Asia, and the Austronesian family. Comrie (1978), defined ergativity as a system of nominal case marking where the subject of an intransitive verb has the same case marking as the direct object, and a different case marker from the subject of a transitive verb. An ergative language thus groups the subject of an intransitive verb and the object alike as opposed to the subject of the transitive verb with regard to their morphology i.e. the morphological case marking or the agreement. The subject of such transitive verb is labeled ergative and the direct object as absolutive. The relationship is illustrated in example here:

Examples: Basque (Comrie (1978))

79 miren Etorri da
 name-3fs come-3fs be-pst
 ‘Mary come.’

80 yon-ek Patxi jo du
 name-3ms-erg name-3ms hit-3ms be-pst
 ‘John hit Bill.’

In such languages, the object argument of a transitive verb appears in absolutive case alike the subject argument of the intransitive verb, and the subject argument of the transitive verb is marked as ergative case. Such a construction is in opposition to majority of European languages. They treat the subject of both transitive and intransitive verbs alike and the object is marked distinctly. Such languages are called

accusative languages. As in Latin, in examples below, the subject of intransitive and transitive verb takes the nominative case while the direct object is marked as accusative.

Examples: Latin (Comrie (1978))

81. puer venit
 boy-3ms-nom come-3ms-pres
 ‘The boy comes.’

82. puer puellam amat
 boy-3ms-nom girl-3fs-acc love-3ms-pres
 ‘The boy loves the girl.’

2.1 The Concept of Ergativity

As mentioned in preceding section, ergativity as an independent field of study developed after the work of Comrie (1978) and Dixon (1979). Study of the concept of ergativity as a relationship between a verb and its arguments is also known as the description alignment of core arguments.^{iv} As Comrie (1978), referred ergativity in terms of traditional descriptive and typological perspective, to a system of nominal case marking, as already have been discussed in previous sections here. In other words, in a language if the subject of intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb are grouped together a like with regard to case morphology i.e both should occur in an absolutive case. This implies that all subjects are not treated in the same way in an ergative language in terms of case marking and some other grammatical relations. He used the terms S for subject of intransitive verb, A for subject transitive verb and P for the direct object of transitive verb. He gave five possible systems of case marking assignment to S, A and P in language, which are as following-

Type A- Neutral system would have the same form for all three arguments i.e. in/transitive subjects and object. English is an example of such a system.

Type B-Nominative-accusative marks S and A as nominative as against P as accusative. Latin is one such language that shows this type of system.

Type C- In ergative-absolutive system, S and P have absolutive as against ergative in A.

Type D- Tripartite system is rare, and have distinct cases for each of the three primitives.

Type E- Groups A and P as against S.

Comrie concentrated on the nominal case marking of the arguments when describing the language types. His work mainly concerned two types of languages;- (1) the accusative language system which take nominative and accusative case and (2) ergative and absolutive case for ergative system. Ergative and accusative are mostly overtly marked and absolutive and nominative are unmarked in the languages. Comrie (1978) assigns secondary role to the verb agreement as compared to the case marking.

Studies in ergativity also benefited from Dixon (1979). His analysis included alignment, pre/postpositions, verbal cross referencing of arguments on verbs and word order, besides the case marking. Dixon used the argument term A in place of P. He gave the primitives-

S- Subject of intransitive verb

A- Subject of transitive verb

O- Object of transitive verb

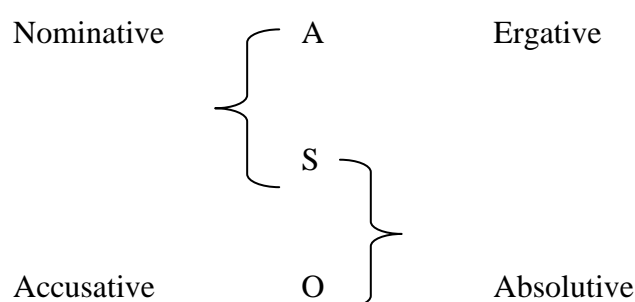
and, grouped S and A as nom-acc languages and S and O as abs-erg languages. Throughout this thesis, we will use the primitives (S, A, O) to describe the ergative patterning.

According to Dixon, "an ergative language is one which groups subject of intransitive verbs (SI) with direct object of transitive verbs (DO), and differently from transitive subject with regard to a number of syntactic phenomena such as case marking, verb agreement, participialization and conjunct reduction" (Butt 1995). Whereas, accusative

languages do not show such distinction and treat subject of intransitive and transitive verbs. In most of the Indo-European languages nominative case mark the subject of the verb and the accusative case marks the direct object.

Dixon's paper provides a wider explanation of the concept of ergativity as compared to that of Comrie who concentrated on the nominal case marking. Both the papers supported split in the alignment patterns in the languages. The alignment patterning is conditioned to factors like tense, aspect mood, pronominal, and the semantic nature of the verb. This gives rise to the split ergative systems. Most of the languages that exhibits ergative alignment, in fact, show split ergative type alignment. Fig., below exemplifies the relationships between the core arguments S, A, O in a noun phrase clausal sentence. ^v

Fig 9. Alignment of S,A,O



The relationship gives us two types of marking system in languages;

- a) Nom-acc type languages mark the subject of intransitive or transitive verbs alike with a nominative case, overt or covert, and the object, if present, is marked with an accusative case.
- b) Erg-abs type languages mark the subjects of an intransitive verb and the direct object alike which is absolutive or zero suffix, while the subject of transitive verb is marked with a case suffix which is ergative, overt or covertly. The two systems are illustrated in example:

Examples: Hindi (Das, 2011)

83 laDka dorta hai
boy-3ms run-3ms be-pre
'The boy runs.'

84 laDke-ne roTTi hai
boy-erg bread-abs eat-pst3fs
'The boy ate bread.'

In ex. (83), the subject of intransitive and the object of the transitive verb (84) have bare case, abs or nom, while the subject of transitive verb (84) is marked with an ergative case. Languages with such type of marking system, like Hindi, are called ergative-absolutive type of languages.

2.2 Types of Ergative Languages

A language can be ergative or accusative at the level of syntax as well as morphology. This grouping of languages based on morphological marking of core arguments and by the syntactic relationships of two clauses, ergativity in languages can be divided into two types: syntactic ergativity and morphological ergativity.

2.2.1 Syntactic Ergativity

Syntactic ergativity is demonstrated in the clause by coordination and relativization. In a coordinate construction in syntactically accusative language, like English, with conjunction, the coreferential argument is usually omitted in the second clause.
e.g. 'Ram came in and saw Sita.'

Here, Ram is dropped or omitted in the second clause since it is unnecessary. The coreferential argument can be dropped if it is either S or A, but not if it is O. let us considering following examples;

- 85a *Ram came and Sita saw (Ram).
 b Ram saw Sita and (Rohn/*Sita) left the room.
 c Ram saw Rohan and (Ram/*Rohan) got angry

From the above examples, it is clear that co-reference is possible between S and A, but not between S and O or O and A.

In contrast, syntactically ergative languages treat S and O as similar in such constructions. Let us see example from Dyirbal:

Examples: Dyirbal (quoted from Dixon, 1994:162)^{vi}

- 86a. “yabu-Ø nguma-nggu bura-n banaga-nyu.
 mother-abs father-erg see-nonfut return-nonfut
 “Mother saw father and (*mother/father) returned.”
- 87 yabu-Ø nguma-nggu bura-n jaja-nggu ngamba-n.
 mother-abs father-erg see-nonfut child-erg hear-nonfut
 ‘Mother saw father and the child heard (father/*mother).’

In (86), the argument, S of the second verb “return,” can be coreferenced with O of the first verb, but not with A. Also, in (87), co reference between O of the second verb and A of the first verb is not possible. Dyirbal also show relativization, where S and A can be relativized, as in ex (88-89).

Example: Dyirbal (quoted from Dixon 1994)

88. yabu nggu nguma-Ø (dunggara ngu-Ø) bura-n.
 mother-erg father-abs cry-rel abs see-pst
 ‘Mother saw father, who*i/j was crying.’
89. yabu nggu (dungfara+ngu+ru) nguma-Ø bura-n.
 mother-erg (cry-rel-erg) father-abs see-pst
 ‘Mother who was crying, saw father.’

The ergative pattern at the level of syntax in languages refers to grammatical relations between subject and direct object rather than case. Nevertheless, in languages like Dyirbal and Tongan, such rules refer to case, distinguishing A from S and O. Dixon (1979, 1994) described syntactic ergativity as syntactic “pivot.” A language can have S/A or S/O pivot. If S/A is chosen, the language is syntactically accusative. If S/O is selected, the language is syntactic ergative.

2.2.2 Morphological Ergativity

This type of ergative alignment is more common in the world languages. A language is said to be morphologically ergative if S and O appear in the same case while A is assigned a different case. The case that marks A are called ergative, while the case marking O and S is called absolutive. This is in contrast to the accusative system, in which S and A are marked with a nominative case and O is assigned accusative case. Example of former type is English and Latin. In English, the third person singular pronoun show similar form at S and A, while at O, it takes a distinctive form (her).

Example: English

- 90a She went to market.
- b She/*her likes Ram.
- c Ram doesn't like her/*she.

In contrast, in ergative construction, S or O receive abs, while A receives erg (-ne).

- 91. ram skul gaya.
 name-nom school-acc go-pst
 ‘Ram went to school.’

- 92. mohan-ne khaaana khaa liyaa
 name-erg food-abs eat be-pst
 ‘Mohan ate food.’

Most ergative languages demonstrate morphological ergativity which includes Dyirbal, Warlpiri, Hindi- Urdu, Kashmiri, Mayan languages, Eskimo languages like Inuit, Inuktitut), Caucasian, Basque etc.

Languages can show morphologically ergativity either by their case marking pattern or by cross referencing of affixes. To recap the primitives of ergativity given by Dixon (1994:39), A, S and O will relation as:

S=O (abs), A=different (erg), this type is found in ergative languages;

S=A (nom), O=different (acc), this type is found in accusative languages;

A, S, O, all different, this type is called tripartite system, and is rare among languages.

2.3 Marking Core Arguments: Verb Agreement and Case marking

As already discusses in previous sections, core arguments can be marking either by case marking or by cross referencing the argument by affixes. Subjects of transitive or intransitive verb are marked with case optionally, as in Punjabi, Kangri, Nepali or obligatorily as in English or Latin based on certain conditions. These conditions can be tense, aspect, volition, semantic- discourse or person based. Such conditions or marking makes the languages splits system.

2.3.1 Verb Agreement

Certain ergative languages also shows accusative pattern in their co referencing of agreements. An example of such a type of language is Warlpiri that shows an accusative pattern of agreement and an ergative case marking.

Example: Warlpiri (quoted from Bitter and Hale 1996:23)

96. nyuntulu-rlu ka-npa-ju ngaju nya-nyi.
you-erg.pre-2s-1s. me(abs) see-nonpst
'You see me.'

97. nyuntu ka-npa parnka-mi.
 you (abs) pre-2s. run-nonpst
 ‘You are running.’

98. ngaju ka-ma parnka-mi.
 me (abs) pre-1s run-nonpst
 ‘I am running.’

In ex., (96-98), second person singular pronominal subjects, *nyuntulu* and *nyntu*, trigger the same agreement, *-npa*, even though they take different case marking. Also, the first person singular pronoun, ‘*ngaju*’ triggers agreement, *-ju*, if it is O, and *-ma* if it is S. (ex. 96, 98). In Burushaski ex., (99-100), all finite verbs need to take a suffix that agrees with the subject.

Example: Burushaski (quoted from Morin and Tiffou 1988:494)

99. ne hír-e phaló bók -i.
 art-m man-erg seed-pl. abs sow pre-3ms
 ‘The man planted the seeds.’

100. ne hir yált -i.
 art-m man-abs yawn pre-3ms
 ‘The man yawned.’

Here, the transitive subject (A) and the intransitive subject (S) trigger the subject agreement *-i*. This type of agreement pattern distinguishes A and S from O.

It is well documented that languages need not show same alignment pattern in case or agreement (Saartjee 2013:42). Languages are so structured internally that no uniform rule or pattern is desired. An accusative verb agreement may occur with an ergative case marking pattern (Comrie 1978: 340). Infact, these two properties of languages, case and verb agreement, according to Givon (2001:231), have complementary functions. If case marking be nominative and shows grammatical relations of

subject/object, verb agreement may indicate semantic roles of agent/ patient. Moreover, agreement refers to properties of the arguments, while case marking tells semantic relations between arguments and the event (Croft 1988, 2003: 147).

This analysis indicates that case marking and verb agreement are two different features that are independent of each other and may or may not influence each other (Subbarao2000, Butt & King 2004).

2.3.2 Case Marking and Split types

It is found that no language is a full ergative language. A language with an ergative-absolutive pattern may also show nominative-accusative patterning under particular circumstances hence giving rise to splits i.e. occurrence of different alignment pattern in a language. Morphological Split concerns one of the following four factors: a) pronouns, b) agreement, c) subordinate clauses, and d) aspect/tense. Anderson (1977) noted that when an ergative pattern and an accusative pattern co-occur in a single language:

- a) language may employ an ergative pattern of case marking for full nouns and an accusative pattern for pronouns, but not vice versa;
- b) a language may show an ergative pattern of case marking and an accusative pattern of agreement, but not an accusative pattern of case marking and an ergative pattern of agreement;
- c) a language may demonstrate an ergative pattern in main clauses and an accusative pattern in subordinate clause, but not vice versa ; and,
- d) a language may show an ergative pattern in the perfective and accusative in the imperfective, but not vice versa.

2.3.2.1 Animacy Hierarchy of Silverstein

Silverstein's 'referential hierarchy' 1976, deals with case marking and splits in alignment pattern in languages. Some languages show an accusative pattern of case marking with pronouns while showing an ergative pattern with the nominals. In Dyirbal, Erg is assigned to A and marked by a suffix -ngagu while S and O in Abs appears with a zero morpheme. Let us consider these examples here-

Dyirbal: (quoted from Dixon 1994:160)

93. “nguma-Ø banaga-nyu.
 father-abs return-nonfut
 ‘Father returned.’

94. nguma-Ø yabu-nggu bura-n.
 father-abs mother-erg see-nonfut
 ‘Mother saw father.’

Nominal and third person pronouns show an ergative pattern, first and second person pronouns show an accusative pattern. First person and second person arguments are marked by a suffix when they occur at O, and when they occur at A or S, they are unmarked. As is illustrated in ex 95:

Example: Dyirbal (adopted from Dixon 1979: 64)

- 95a ngana banaga-ny u
 ‘We returned.’

- b ny ura banaga-ny u
 ‘We returned.’

- c ny ura ngana-na bura-n
 ‘You saw us.’

d ngana ny ura-na bura-n.

‘We saw us.’

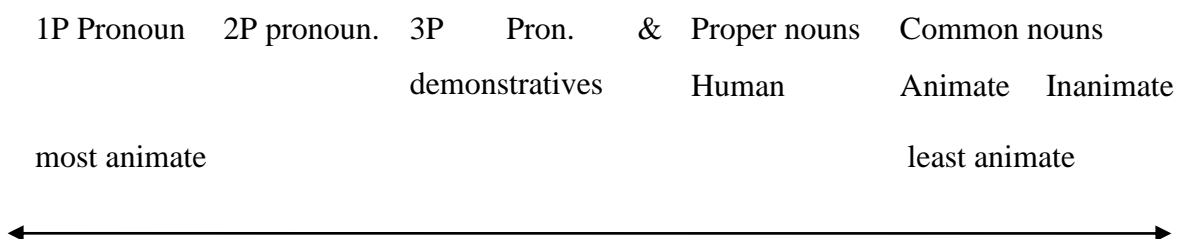
The case inflection distribution achieved from the above examples are presented as follows:

Fig. 10. Dyirbal Case Inflection (Yoko 2000)

	1P Pron.	2P Pron.	3P Pron.	Nouns
A	-∅	-∅	-ngagu	-ngagu
S	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
O	-na	-na	-∅	-∅
	————— Acc		————— Erg	

This type of case and marking split can be explained by Silversten’s Animacy Hierarchy 1976 (Dixon 1979, 1994). He noted that referential features of core arguments affect their case marking. In the animacy hierarchy, NP’s are arranged according to their animacy. If a NP occurs at the leftmost end of the hierarchy, it is most likely to be animate, and that the degree of animacy decreases as it gets closer to the rightmost point of the line.

Fig. 11 Animacy Hierarchy



Dixon (1979), linked animacy hierarchy with that of agency hierarchy, arguing that the more animate a NP is, the more likely it is to be A than O. First person pronouns are most likely A, while inanimate common nouns are O. Hence, Dixon proposed to mark a first person pronoun as O or an inanimate common noun as A. This analysis predicts an ergative pattern of case marking from the right-hand end to the middle of the hierarchy, and an accusative pattern from that point onwards.

Topicality is another factor that triggers split (Blake 1982). Absolutive arguments exhibit characteristics that are attributed to topic and tend to have a null case form and cross-referenced by bound pronouns. Blake argues that first and second person pronouns tend to function on an accusative system because they are inherently highly topical and therefore, they consistently appear in ABS. Also, when they occur as A, they attract Abs rather than Erg due to their high topicality. These analyses have been criticized by recent typological studies due to inadequacy or validity of the hierarchy.

2.3.2.2 Tense and Aspect Split System

Splits can also be conditioned by the tense/aspect/mood (Dixon 1978) of verbs. It is typically agreed that, constructions with a perfective verb show ergative alignment and the constructions with an imperfective verb show accusative alignment (Saartjee 2013). It is therefore postulated that there might be a semantic role in ergative marking and perfectivity of the verb. Both related to an action and the former relates to completion of the action (Comrie 1973). In simpler terms, these languages show ergative case marking in perfective aspect or past tense tenses and accusative marking is used for imperfective (or non-past) tenses. This type of split is particularly common in Tibeto Burman, South Asian and Iranian languages, e.g., Hindi (Anderson 1977), Sherpa (Coe 1994) and Kashmiri (Wali & Koul 1994).

Hindi: Anderson 1977: 330, 331)

101. aadmi larke-ko dekhta hai.
man boy-acc see-imperf aux-pre
'The man sees the boy.'

102. aadmni-ne larke-ko dekha hai.
man-erg boy-acc see-perf aux-pre
'The man has seen the boy.'

Here, A is case marked -ne in the perfective (ex.101), while as in the imperfective -ne is absent (ex.120). Also, -ko, appears in the imperfective and the perfective as well. Let us see some more illustrations:

103. aadmi larka dekhta hai.
 boy dog see imperf aux-pre
 ‘The man sees a boy.’

104. Aadmi-ne larka dekha hai.
 man-erg boy see-perf aux-pre
 ‘The man has seen a boy.’

The marker, ‘-ko’ is used for accusative function. -ko occurs at ‘O’ only if the object is animate and definite. -ko marks O for the features- animacy and definiteness and not necessarily to mark O for accusative case. We get from illustrations that case marking in Hindi patterns a contrast between ergative and no marking rather than between ergative and accusative. This pattern is illustrated in tabulated format as:

Table 4. Hindi Casal System

	S	A	O
Perfective	-∅	-ne	-∅
Imperfective	-∅	-∅	-∅

2.4 Complex Predicates

Complex verbs or complex predicates (CV) consist of a non-verbal element (main verb) or a ‘host’ and a light verb (LV). The main verb occurs as a bare stem and LV is inflected for tense and aspect, and show person, number features. LV contributes additional semantic meaning to that is conveyed by the main verb. The LV conveys meanings, such as “completion, suddenness, directionality, benefaction, intensity, violence, stubbornness, reluctance, regret, forethought, thoroughness, etc.” (Masica

2005:143). CVs are also called light verb constructions. They are of two types; N+V combinations, called conjunct verbs (Masica 1991) and V+V combinations, called compound verbs (Butt 1997).

The LV and the host share semantic features. The host can be nouns, adjectives, infinitival or stem form of the verbs. Let us illustrate in examples below, the relationship between the LV and the host. In ex. (105abc), the LV takes a nominal, an adjectival and a verbal host respectively.

Hindi (Das, 2006)

105a nishant achanak ga utt-aa
 name-3ms-nom suddenly sing-V rise-perf-3ms
 ‘Nishant suddenly sang out.’

b anita-ne kamra saf kiya
 name-3fs-erg room clean-Adj do-perf-ms
 ‘Anita cleaned the roomt.’

c nishant-ne kaam-par dhyaad diya
 name-3ms-erg work-ms-loc Attention-N give-perf-ms
 ‘Nishant paid attention to the work.’

CV, formed with two verbs as in ex (105a), is referred as a ‘Compound verb’ If the CV is formed with a nominal or an adjectival, the resulting CV is referred as ‘conjunct verb’

2.5 Framework of the study

Typological studies have found interest in grouping all the ergative alignment and to study the type of constructions that are common to such languages. Common among their analysis of the alignment are features like verb agreement and case marking, and lately content as well that covers the semantic basis of the alignment in languages. Semantic basis of alignment distinguish agent and patient roles in an argument structure and also consider possession, inclusive and exclusive 1P pronouns and animacy of nouns, though such a type of analysis is now abandoned. (Nichols 1990) distinguishes head marking i.e. verb agreement from the dependent marking i.e. case marking and that they occurs in combination to each other. Comrie (1978), too had stated that the accusative or ergative alignment is linked to the case marking of the arguments. Comrie and Dixon's explanation on ergative alignment are widely accepted as standard. I will follow it for the analysis of Kinnauri ergative alignment of arguments.

End notes

ⁱ Single argument

ⁱⁱ Non ergative constructions show accusative pattern as opposed to ergative constructions that show ergative pattern in their nominal case marking.

ⁱⁱⁱ Earliest detailed typological discussions of ergativity are found in Anderson (1976); Comrie (1978); Dixon (1979, 1994).

^{iv} Early on, Planck (1979), used the term alignment, Comrie (1978), used the term system and Dixon preferred to use pattern. In later studies, alignment became common term to study argument structure of a language.

^v Following Dixon (1979, 94), the labels are: A= transitive subject; P= transitive object; and S = intransitive subject.

^{vi} Example has been slightly modified

CHAPTER 3

Kinnauri Morphosyntax

Kinnauri is grouped in the West-Himalayaishⁱ languages of the Tibeto-Burman language family. It shows most of the properties associated with verb final languages. Kinnauri is a highly under described language with no work available on its syntax. This chapter will provide a sketch of morphology and syntax that are relevant to the present study.

3.0 Nominal System in Kinnauri

This section discusses nominal morphology of Kinnauri. Nominal is defined as the class of words that morphologically groups nouns and adjectives by marking the syntactic head of noun phrases, pronouns and demonstratives. The cases have both grammatical and semantic roles; number is also marked on the nominal. In the following sections, discussed are verbal inflection, nominal inflection and number marking on nominal.

3.1 Case System

Case is a particle that marks the relationship of a noun phrase with the rest of the clause; noun to a verb at clause level and noun to adposition, or noun to another noun at phrase level. In this section, I will outline some preliminary explanation of Kinnauri case marking system which is required in order to understand the functions of different case markers found in the language.

In Kinnauri, all nouns and pronouns are inflected for cases and number. Case suffix can appear with number suffixes. e.g. chang (boy), changa (boys), changu (to/of boy);

or the case suffix can appear apart. e.g. changa nu (for boys), changa dwakch (from boy), changa tais (for boy).

Kinnauri has eight cases forms that inflect nominal by postpositions or suffixes. Kinnauri can be both accusative language and ergative language by way of case marking. Nominative case is used for subject of intransitive verb, direct object of transitive verb, pronominal subject of transitive verb or complement of the verb. It is left unmarked. The term genitive is used for possessive and non subject agent case. Use of genitive is very wide and it often overlaps with the function of other cases also. Accusative is used for direct object of transitive verb and indirect object of a ditransitive verb. Locative is inflected for inanimate objects. Referent and oblique are terms used for non subject marker. Table 5, gives an overview of postpositions in Kinnauri.

Table 5: Semantic Roles of Postpositions in Kinnauri

Category	Form	Function
Nominative	∅	Nominative
Ergative	-s, -is	Ergative
Absolutive	∅	Absolutive
Accusative/ Dative	-u , -nu , -pang	Experiencer, Recipient, Participant
Genitive	-u	Benefactor
Locative	-o	Location of participant/ action
Ablative	-c	Source
Instrumental	-s	Agent instrument

Subject and object case relationship- Subject and direct object of a transitive verb share a ergative- absolutive/ nominative type relationship. Subject of transitive verb, takes ergative case whereas direct object in both animate and inanimate takes nominative case. In ditransitive verbs with more than one object, subject takes

ergative case, indirect object takes accusative/ dative case and the direct object takes a nominative case.

3.1.1 Case marking in Alignment Typology

In Kinnauri, the case marking is inflected by suffixes or postpositions for the case relations and the number. Kinnauri do not have all the case types that are found in Indo Aryan Hindi. The case marking forms tell about the syntactic correlation among the core arguments in a sentence. Cases related to the present study will be discussed here.

1. Nominative case is unmarked in Kinnauri Nominative plurals are marked by the suffix –a or -na which is added to the nominals.

e.g. chang> chang-a, ki>ki-na, do> do-ga.

The case is not overtly realized. It is also used as the direct object of the transitive verb. Let us see some examples to exemplify it:

106 gi dam mi tok
I-Nom good man be.1SPre
'I am a good man.'

107 gi budo tok
I-Nom come-prog be-pre
'I am coming.'

108 ki khau zach dun
you-Nom food eat be.2SPre
'You eat food.'

109 ama changu kherang rano du
Mother-Nom child milk give be.3SP
'Mother is feeding milk to the child.'

2. Accusative case marks the direct as well as indirect object of transitive and a di transitive verb. The marker for accusative are ‘-pang,’ ‘-u’ and ‘-nu.’ The distribution of these markers is as follows:

-pang; suffixed with vowel ending nominals and pronominal stems, except personal pronoun. eg. ama-pang- to mother, nu-pang for him

-u; affixed to consonant ending stems. e.g.an-u- to you, chan-gu- to child

-nu; affixed to 2P pronominal stems in singular and plural. e.g. kan-u to you, mi-nu- to people

3. Ergative case markers are -s or –is, marking the subject of a transitive verb.

-is is affixed to the consonant ending stem of the subject. e.g. –is; ‘shut-is’, ‘chang-is,’ ‘teacher-is.

-s; is added to vowel ending stem to singular and plurals. e.g. gi-s ‘I’, ki-s ‘you’ , Sita-s , kin-as ‘by you.’

Table 6, below shows suffixes in a Accusative and Ergative case system found in Kinnauri.

Table 6. Kinnauri Case Markers

	masc. sg	dual	masc. pl
Nom	-	-gsun/ -nis	-a/ -e/ -ga/ ge
Erg	-s/ is	-nishis	-s
Acc	-u/ -nu/ pang	-nishu	Nu

Kinnauri show accusative forms with intransitive sentences and ergative in transitive sentences in their alignment of the arguments. Kinnauri like most verb final languages is an ergative language, shows ergative only in the perfective aspect type verbal constructions. The ergative feature is marked overtly with –s or –is.

3.1.2 Nouns

Nouns are the syntactic head of the NP or subject or object of a finite verb. Noun can take case suffix, assign gender, number and can be replaced by a pronominal.

Noun Class: In Kinnauri, two noun classes are found which are animate and inanimate. Animate are human and non humans. Animate Nouns: these can be inflected for all numbers and cases. Inanimate Nouns: these are not inflected with suffixes for number cases.

3.1.2.1 Noun Stems

A noun stem carries the basic meaning of a word. A stem is the basic form of a noun. It can be inflected for plural and other casual relations. Kinnauri noun stems can be monosyllabic or a complex stem formed of root + suffix. these stems are found in Kinnauri from a mix of languages. Some of the examples are as follows-

a.) Monosyllabic:

Kinn	/gloss/
id	/one/
ki	/you/
mi, me	/men/, /yesterday, fire/
shu	/local deity/
thu	/why/
tho	/ash/
rid	/rope/
pyu	/mouse/
kui,	/dog/
ze,zo	/sheep/ /yak/
le, lo	/tongue/ /age (traditional method)/
rim, ral, rid	/field/ /thread/
ti, u, le	/tongue//water/ /flower/

Noun stems are formed by inflecting suffixes to them for number and case. The suffixes -s for animate and –ang, -ing are suffixed to for noun stems.

-s: lamas, kolas, bakhlas, piyaras, ngaris, zoris, lanis, taingis

/long, soft,thick,priest,in anger,with force, by wind, for (want)/

-ang: dakhang, monang, kamang, rodag, ronang, pitang, dwarang, kanang

/grapes, memory, work, drizzle, weather, door, main door, ear/

-ing: gwaling, rating, mating, kuting, shangling

/plough, night, mud, hut, chain/

b) Derived stems: it is formed by adding suffix to noun or adjective stems.

Kinn /gloss/

gatoC /younger/,

komoc /from inside/,

kimoc /from home/,

rimoc /from field/,

daoc /of sister/,

bic /go/,

fic /take/,

zac /eat/,

pac /grandson/,

manec /don't know/

3.1.3 Pronominal System

Pronominal system provides insight into the function of cases in language. In Kinnauri, pronouns replace nouns and are inflected for number and case. It can function as the subject or the object of the verb. These pronouns can take number in kinnarui but do not mark gender. Kinnauri has five classes of pronouns- personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite and reflexive. Only the relevant part will be discussed here.

3.1.3.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns show distinction to refer to an entity that is either (1) visible to the speaker and the hearer, or (2) that is not visible to either of the participants. First person pronouns stem is –ga for direct or ergative case or –ang It has stem –ang for all other cases. It has stem –kashang for inclusive dual/ plural and –niS for dual/ plural exclusive form numbers.ⁱⁱ Second person pronouns have stems for honorific and non honorific forms which are –ka, -ki in singular and –ka niS, kiSi in dual and kanega, kina in plural. Second and third person pronouns maintain their stems in all number and cases while first person pronouns doesn't.

Examples of pronominal stem in sentences are as follows-

- 110 gi/nishi/kashang/ninga/kashanga seo jao dukⁱⁱⁱ/duc^{iv}
i/we-dual.excl/we-dual/incl/we.excl/ we.incl apple eat.prog be
I /We- dual/We are eating apple

- 111 angu/ nishu kamang lannu to
i-gen-1p-sg/we-dual work do. be.nonpst
I /We- dual/We are eating apple

Personal pronouns are marked for case, number and person, and not for gender. In case inflections, personal pronoun share characteristic of animate noun and demonstrative pronouns follow inanimate nouns. The table 7, show paradigm of persona pronoun in Kinnauri in different case forms:

Table 7 Paradigm of Personal Pronouns in in Kinnauri

	Nominative	Ergative		Genitive	Accusative/ Dative
Person		excl.	incl.	excl.	incl.
sg 1	gi	nishi	kashanga	ninga	kashanga
2	ka/ ki (Hon)	nishu	kashanganu	ninganu	kashanganu
3	do/dogo(hon)	-	kanish	-	kaniga
dual 1	nishi	-	kishi	-	kina
2	kanish	dogsung	-	dogo	
3	dogonish	zunish	-	zugo	-
pl 1	do		-	nug	-
2	dogo				
3	doga				

3.1.4 Number and Gender Marking

In kinauri number is marked for mainly singular, dual (pronominal stems only) or plural forms. Singular is left unmarked; plural is marked by affixing markers to the stem. Marker for duality or plurality can be quantifiers (e.g. ci), numerals or numeral particle. The markers are –a, -go, -ga, -na, -Na etc. Duality is shown by prefixing the term for the duality i.e. ‘niS.’ Sometimes, plurality also is not overtly marked if it is evident from the context. Table 8 show suffix plurality in Kinnauri, and table 9 show pronominal plurality in different cases.

. **Table 8 : Plural suffixes**

Kinnauri		Gloss	Kinnauri		Gloss
sg	pl	sg/ pl			dual
rim	rima	field/s	nish mi		two man
om	oma	way/s	shum mi		three man
mi	miga	eye/s	cai mi		all man
apa	apaga	father/s	gaTo mi		less man
do	dogo	he/they	muluk mi		more man
nu	nugo	he/ they			
ka	knega	you/ you(nonhon/pl)			
ki	kina	you/ you(hon/pl)			

Table 9 Pronominal plurality chart

Case	Sg.	Dual	Pl
Nom	-	-gsun/ -nis	-a/ -e/ -ga/ ge
Erg	-s/ is	-nishis	-s
Acc	-u/ -nu/ pang	-nishu	nu
Ins	-as	-	-as
Abl	-kc/ -c/ -dwakc		-kc/ -c
Gen	-o/ -u/ -n		-nu
Loc	-o		-no
Voc	-e		-e

3.1.5 Gender

Kinnauri does not have a grammatical gender marker. For distinguishing the two gender, it is divided into two classes- animate and inanimate. Animate further has human and non humans class. Animate can be distinguished by either using distinctive terms for the gender or by using affixes to the substantive forms.

Kinn	/Gloss/	Kinn	/Gloss/
<i>Masc.</i>		<i>Fem.</i>	
mi	/man/	ches	/woman/
chang	/boy/	chechas	/girl/
bowa	/father/	ama	/mother/
tete	/grandfather/	api	/grandmother/
ruza	/old man/	yangze	/old woman/

Non human animate can be represented by prefixing /skyo/ male and /mangT/ female (Sharma 1988)

Kinn	/Gloss/	Kinn	/Gloss/
skyo rang	/horse/	mangT rang	/mare/
skyo thar	/lion/	mangT thar	/lioness/
skyo kui	/dog/	mangT kui	/bitch/

In case of human animate, following prefixes are used; /dekhras/ boy and /chechas/ before the substantive (Sharma 1988).

Kinn	/Gloss/
Dekhras chang	/male child/
checas chang	/female child/

3.2 Verb System in Kinnauri

In this section, I will talk about verb and the constituents that comprise verb phrases. To begin with, an overview of the types of verb found in Kinnauri will be provided

including light verbs, copula and auxiliary followed with a discussion on agreement morphology, infinitive and converbs.

3.2.1 Verb class

Verb in Kinnauri involves a verb stem, tense marker and a subject agreement marker (Saxena 1995). Verb specifies the following characteristics- occurs as a syntactic head of a predicate; receive tense and aspect markers and subject agreement suffixes. Verb root are formed by dropping infinitive or verbal noun marker^v and can be a monosyllabic or polysyllabic (Sharma 1988). There are two classes of verbs- transitive and intransitive. Intransitive verbs have one argument, while the transitive verbs have more than one argument.

3.2.1.1 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are verbs with two or more arguments. Transitive can be identified as overt subject marked with an ergative case and overt objects marked depending on the grammatical role of the object. In some cases though there is no overt case marking on subject or the object. Table 10, provides examples of transitive verb stems.

Table 10 Transitive Verb Stems

Stem	Gloss
khya	See
Lan	Do
Thas	Hear
Ran	Give
chi	Wash
gor	Fall
tig	Break
pon	Sew
kul	Beat
tung	Drink
Dab	Pull

pan	Cook
thu	Lift
neo	Know
hush	Read

3.2.1.2 Intransitive Stems

Intransitive verbs include verbs with a single argument that function as the grammatical subject. Subject need not be overtly marked in intransitives. Table 11 provides a sample of intransitive verb stems.

Table 11 Intransitive verb stems

Stem	Gloss
bai	Flow
bi	Go
bun	Come
dan	Fall
rig	Break
sarsi	Wake up
shi	Die
thurias	Run
tosh	Sit
wan	Laugh
yag	Sleep
yun	Walk
zang	Show

3.2.3 Tense and aspect

Tense is defined as, “a grammatical expression of location in time” (Comrie 1985), i.e. it relates to the time of action or event that is just completed at the time of speaking or is still relevant while speaking. In morphology, tense relates to “the time

of the situation described by the verb in relation to the time of speaking” (Payne 1997). Aspect expresses the way of the action relates to the time and the reference time, whether the event or the action is completed (perfective aspect), ongoing event or repeated (imperfective aspect). It always occurs with the tense in the sentence and indicates how action is viewed with respect to time.

In spoken languages, at the least three basic tense are found; past, present and future. Past refers to the events of the past at the time of speaking. Future refers to the events that are yet to take place i.e. the future events. Present refers to the events in present time. Tense is marked as inflections on the verb forms or by auxiliary. Tense and aspect also occur together in languages, marking for tense, aspect, person, number and agreement.

3.2.3.1 Tense in Kinnauri

Kinnauri has all basic tense categories i.e. present, past and future occurring overtly marked on the verb stem, followed by the agreement markers. The pattern for tense inflection in Kinnauri thus is V(verb)-TNS (Tense)-AGR(agreement).

Present tense/ aspect: Simple verbs or sentences in present tense do not have overt marking. The components of simple verbs or sentence in present tense are a main verb and an auxiliary or ‘be’ verb. The main verb appears as a bare root, and inflects for aspect while the auxiliary inflects for tense and agreement features i.e. person and number. We will notice that tense and aspect are expressed together in Kinnauri. Suffix for present simple tense are ‘c’ and ‘d.’ ‘-d’ is suffixed to verb roots ending with ‘-ci’ or ‘-si.’ ‘-c,’ is suffixed to all verb roots that endings except for above.

e.g. gi loc /I say/, ki yagc /You sleep/, ki roncid /You listen/, do khyacid /He sees/

Following examples illustrations present simple tense with transitive verb in Kinnauri-

112 gi khau jac tok
i-1p food eat pre
‘I eat food.’

113 do kamang lanc du
 he-2p work do pre
 ‘he does the work.’

114 ki/ka kitab hushid toin/ ton
 You-2p (hon/nonhon) book read Be-pre
 ‘You read book.’

In ex. (112-114), verb phrase has a main verb and an auxiliary. The main verb ‘jac,’ ‘lanc,’ and hushid,’ bears bound morpheme ‘-c’ and ‘-d.’ The former marks for aspect and the later marks for tense and person, number agreement. The following figure gives agreement suffixes in present tense:

Fig 12. Agreement suffixes in present tense

1p		2p		3p	
sg	du/pl (exc/incl)	sg(hon/nonhon)	du/pl (ord/hon)	sg	du/pl (ord/ hon)
-k	-c,-e/ic,-ic/e	n/in	-ø,-ø/c,c	t,d /is (ord/hon)	-ø,is/-ø, is

The verb root is unmarked for the simple present tense in Kinnauri transitive constructions. Suffix denotes person and number agreement. By now we know Kinnauri has no grammatical gender. The use of auxiliary in present tense is optional. Let us see the following examples:

- 115a). gi khau jac
 b). do kamang lanc
 c). ka kitab hushed

Tense in such cases are clear from the discourse context. Let us consider some examples in different tenses in Kinnauri:

a) Present Continuous:

Present continuous tense stands for progressive aspects with an auxiliary. The suffix for progressive is ‘-o,’ which is suffixed to the main verb. Person and number agreement markers are inflected to auxiliary.

116 gi khau jao tok
i-1p-nom food eat-prog be-pre-1p
‘I am eating food.’

117 Kashanga/ninga khau jao toc
We-1p-pl-(incl/excl)-nom Food eat-prog be-pre-1p
‘we are eating food.’ (incl.)

118 ki/ka khau jao toin/ton
you-2p (hon/nonhon)-nom Food eat-prog be-pre-1p(hon/nonhon)
‘you are eating food.’

119 do/doga khau jao du-ø
he-3p (sg/pl)-nom Food eat-prog be-pre-(hon/nonhon)
‘he/they are eating food.’

Sentence in ex. (116-119), is in continuous aspect in present tense. Progressive marker ‘o’ is inflected to the main verbs, and the ‘be’ verb takes care of the person marking ‘-k’ for first person singular (116), ‘-c’ for first person plural (117), ‘-n’ for second person non-honorific (118) and ‘-in’ for second person honorific (118). The ‘be’ verb in third person is unmarked and the person, number is indicated by the subject (119).

b) Past tense:

Past tense in Kinnauri can have two categories; observed or simple past and reported or distant past. Tense markers for past is ‘-a’ and it has allomorphs ‘-e,’ ‘-da,’ ‘-ya.’

Suffix for distant past is ‘-gyo.’ ‘-e’ is used when the verb ends with ‘-c’ or ‘-sh. Affix ‘-a’ is used elsewhere.

The suffixes inflected on the verbs also show agreement in Kinnauri. Subject agreement is common and object agreement is rare, which occur only in case of 1st and 2nd person pronominal objects. The marker for object agreement is ‘-c’ which is infixed between the verb and the tense. This will be discussed in future sections. Let us see examples to illustrate past tense.

Simple past: It denotes an event or action in past just prior to utterance.

120 gi-s khau zak
i-erg food eat-pst-3s
‘I ate food.’

121 dogo-s kamang lanosh
he-erg work do-pst-2s-hon
‘He did the work.’

c) Future:

An action or event that takes place after the utterance. Markers for future tense are ‘-to’ ‘-te’ and ‘-o.’ Future markers are inflected on the verb stem and is followed by a subject agreement markers. The suffix *-to* applies with first person singular (122), and third person non-honorific; *-te* appear in other persons (123). *-o* appears after consonant *-c* (124). The following examples illustrates future markings.

122 gi rim-a-no rok-to-k
I field-Pl-Loc graze-Fut1Sg
‘I will graze it in the field.’

123 chai-ku tais piyate
all-ACC for prayer-Fut

'(We) will pray for all.'

- 124 gi ka-nu tongcok
I 2sg-acc beat-2sg-fut-1sg
'I will beat you.'

3.2.3.2 Aspect

Kinnauri shows three aspect categories; Imperfective, Progressive and Perfective. Further various tense and aspect categories are formed by use of different tense and aspects markers. The markers express following features- the verb affix refers to aspect and the auxiliary refers to tense and subject agreement. In Kinnauri, auxiliary may be dropped in the sentences. Tense in such cases is determined by context of the discourse. Following are the aspect types formed in Kinnauri:

a) Imperfective Aspect

It uses suffixes –s and –it. –it follows the consonants –c and –sh. These type of aspects are of two types: habitual and finite imperfective, expressing an event which is closely linked and simultaneous with some other event. Examples 125-126, illustrates the habitual aspect in imperfective form.

- 125 guddu kamang lan-nu walli kotch
name work do-inf very obey-imperf
'Guddu is very obedient at work.'

- 126 beshakango ze-nu rango phich
april sheep-acc mountain-loc take-imperf
'In april sheep are taken to the mountain.'

b) Progressive aspect

The progressive suffix is *-du*, *-yo* or *-o*, following vowels except *i*, after vowel *i*, and consonants resp. The progressive aspect expresses an imperfective event that involves change in process. The other function of the progressive form is as a participial verb form indicating action which is simultaneous by distinct from some other action.. The difference between progressive and imperfective in this participial function is that the progressive describes a distinct, yet simultaneous, event. As mentioned above, the imperfective in close construction with another, fully finite, verb expresses one face of one complex event. Examples here illustrate the progressive aspects.

- 127 golu githnag ronco du
 name song listen-prog Aux-pre
 'Golu is listening to the song.'

As example above, present progressive is formed by the verb root with progressive aspect inflection and the auxiliary in the present form (with zero marking). Present progressive describes an event in process at the time of speaking.

- 128 niga rampur bi-mu tais zarsho tokec
 1-pl- incl rampur go-inf purpose prepare-prof aux-pst-pl
 'We both were preparing to go to Rampur.'

Past progressive consists of a verb stem with the progressive aspect marker and the auxiliary with the past tense marker *-ke/-ge* (128) and past auxiliary cannot be dropped. Past progressive denotes an event which was progressing in the past.

c) Perfective

Perfective aspect is by reduplication of the verb root. Verbs that end in *-sh* or *-c* take the allomorph *-is* instead of root reduplication. As with all aspect marked verbs, an auxiliary expressing tense and agreement is optional. Without an auxiliary, the neutral interpretation of perfective aspect is past time.

Present Perfect

Present perfect is formed by a verb stem in perfect aspect followed by an optional auxiliary in the present tense (ex.129). Present perfect denotes a currently relevant state resulting from an event in the recent past.

- 129 doga zing hashumu tai ba-ba
 they-3p-pl here study do-prog come-perf
 'They have come here with the purpose to study.'

Past perfect is formed by the verb root plus perfective aspect and an auxiliary with the past tense marker *-ke/-ge* (ex. 130). Past perfect denotes a past state that results from an event that happened earlier in the past.

- 130 arun ang nang kamango toke
 name me with work-perf aux-pst-3p
 'Arun was with me at work.'

Future perfect is formed by the verb root in perfective and the auxiliary *ni-* in the "future" tense form (ex. 131). This aspect expresses an event which the speaker believes would have already happened at some point in present, but he/she lacks direct evidence.

- 131 atte toro dilli bi-bi ni-tosh
 elder brother today delhi go-perf stay-fut-3hon
 'Elder brother will/might have gone to Delhi today.'

3.3 Auxiliary '–to,' '–di,' 'ni'

Auxiliary^{vi} links the subject head and the subject complement^{vii}. Auxiliary can be a verb or pronoun or suffix inflected to a noun. In English language, 'be' verb form is the copula or auxiliary. It is considered a part of the predicate. For example, in a sentence like; 'Book is on the table,'

‘Book’ is the subject of the noun phrase, ‘on the table’ is predicate expression and ‘is’ is the -be verb and is part of the verb phrase ‘is on the table.

In Kinnauri, -to, -du, and -ni function as auxiliary. -to and -du occur in non-future tenses. They are inflected for tense, aspect and mood in the language. Clauses involving auxiliary -to may have all three persons as their subjects, but -du may only take third person arguments as their subjects. The auxiliary -ni, occurs in all tenses (Saxena 1995).

In the future tense it can occur with all persons, where the tense and subject agreement markers are suffixed to the copula -ni but it can take only third person subjects in past and present tenses. No inflectional endings are affixed to -ni in non-future tenses, here discourse context specifies the tense of the clause. All three copulas can occur with third person subjects in the nonfuture. In such constructions their distribution is semantically conditioned.

The distribution of -to, -du and -ni with third person honorific and nonhonorific subjects is semantically conditioned. The semantic interpretations of -to and -ni with honorific subjects are different from their interpretations with nonhonorific subjects.

We will first consider the semantic interpretations associated with the copulas in clauses involving nonhonorific subjects.

-to in such constructions indicates that the subject is somehow related to the speaker.

This may either be because they are members of the same family or because they are in physical proximity.

-du is used in contexts where the subject does not belong to the speaker and the speaker has no information or knowledge about the subject.

-ni is used in conversations where the hearer has some doubts either about the very existence of the subject, or in identifying the subject as either A or B, while the speaker definitely knows the answer (either because he himself saw it or because he has some way of knowing the truth).

Examples: to, du, ni- in present tense

- 132 kitab dam to/du/ni
book good be pres.3s/ be-pres.3s/ be.pres.3s
'This book is good.'

Example: ni- in future tense

- 133 gi shupa kimo nitok
i evening home-loc fut-1sg
'I will be at home in evening.'

Example: ni- in past tense

- 134 doga chiraniga ni
they wood cutters non fut-3
They were wood cutters

In ex. (132), -to is used in above examples when the book belongs to the speaker or is in his possession while speaking; -du is used when the book neither belongs to the speaker nor is in his possession; -ni is used if the hearer has some doubts concerning the book being good, while the speaker is quite confident that the book is good. This distribution remains same for animate subjects, as in ex (135).

Example: Auxiliary in Animate Subjects

- 135 sonam dam to/du/ni
name good be-pres.3s/be-pres.3s/be-pre-3s
'Sonam is good.'

Summary of auxiliaries in Kinnauri is provided in table 12, as a auxiliary paradigm in the past, present and future.

Table 12 Copula Paradigm**Past tense**

Person	Sg	Dual	Pl
1	to-ke-k	to-ke-c (excl)	to-ke-ch
2-hon	to-ke-n	to-ke-n	to-ke-n
2hon	to-ke-in	to-ke-ch	to-ke-ch
3-hon	to-ke/ ni/du-ge	to-ke/ ni/ du-ge	to-ke/ ni/du-ge
3hon	to-ke-sh/ du-ge-sh/ ni	to-ke-sh/ du-ge-sh/ ni	to-ke-sh/ du-ge-sh/ ni

Present tense

Person	Sg	Dual	Pl
1	to-k	to-c (excl)	to- \emptyset incl
2-hon	to-n	to-n	to-n
2hon	to-in	to-c	to-c
3-hon	du/ to/ni	du/ to/ni	du/ to/ni
3hon	du-sh/ tosh/ ni	du-sh/ tosh/ ni	du-sh/ tosh/ ni

Future Tense

Person	Sg	Dual	Pl
1	ni-ta-n	ni-ti-c (excl)	ni-te (incl)
2-hon	ni-ta-n	ni-ta-n	ni-ta-n
2hon	ni-ti-in	ni-ti-c	ni-i-c
3-hon	ni-to	---	ni-to

3.4 Ergativity in Complex Verbs

Complex verbs or complex predicates (CV) consist of a non-verbal element (main verb) or a ‘host’ and a light verb (LV). The LV and the host share semantic features. The host can be nouns, adjectives, infinitival or stem form of the verbs. LV carry information about tense and aspect and all the agreement features. Main verb plays an

integral part of the predicate with the light verb and conveys or denotes the main activity of the verb.

In Kinnauri, CV is formed in combination of the main verb which is mainly a noun and a light verb polar verb or vector verb. LVs can be both transitive like- rannu, (to give), unnu (to take), Thismu (to hit) etc., and intransitive like- bunnu (to come), bimu (to go) etc. Let us consider some examples to elaborate the definitions-

N+LV; N can be noun, adjective, adverb or propositional phrase etc.

136 gi kinu kolang lanco nic
i-nom You-dat remember-N do-V be-pre
'I remember(ing) you.'

136a gi-s kinu kolang lancis
i-nom You-dat remember-N do-pst
'I remembered you.'

136b ki-s angu kolang lancis
You-erg me-dat remember-N do-pre
'you remembered me.'

136c nuga-s Kinu bennang lancis
They-erg You-dat Love-N do-pre
'They loved you.'

In ex. (136, 136a-c), the LV combines with a Noun to form a complex verb structure.

136d gi-s komra aasa lanshid
i-erg room-acc clean-Adj do-pst
'I cleaned the room you.'

136e dogo-s Komra aasa lanos
 They-erg room clean-Adj Do-pst
 ‘They cleaned the room.’

In ex. (136d-e) LV combines Adjective to form CV. The verbal element is ‘lanc ‘do.’

Ex. 216, is an illustrations with V+V combinations, which forms a compound verb.

137f gi pitang tvangc tok
 i-nom room-abs open-V do-v2
 ‘I open the door.’

CVs are not very common in Kinnauri. Case marking and agreement CVs depend on the transitivity of the LV in Kinnauri

End Notes

ⁱ This language sub group include languages of the non Tibetan tiebto burman languages, and forms a sub group of runga language branch of sino Tibetan languages (LaPolla 2003)

ⁱⁱ inclusive is including the person being addressed and exclusive for the person being addressed is absent in the action of the act of speech or activity.

ⁱⁱⁱ ‘duk’ be verb attests for 1P singular

^{iv} ‘duc’ be verb attests for 1 person dual and plural inclusive or exclusive and non honorific or honorific. There is no change in the ‘be’ verb form.

^v e.g. bimig- bi (go), khyamig- khya (see), ranmig- ran (give), surishmu- surian (encircle), kulmig- kul (beat), zamig- zao (eat).

^{vi} Also called a linking verb, if copular is a verb. Copular can be a verb or a verb like word which may be pronoun, adjective, suffix, adverb etc

^{vii} The word ‘copula’ is derived from the latin word that connects two different entities.

CHAPTER 4

Ergativity in Kinnauri

This chapter examines and discusses ergativity in Kinnauri in terms of the alignment properties in nominal domain i.e. the case marking of core arguments and their interpretations, as well as in verbal domain i.e. agreement between the core arguments. Ergativity in Kinnauri has been compared to the system of case marking and agreement with other languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. The language shows split behavior in ergative manifests in alignment pattern in different tense/ aspect and case marking of subject and object (i.e. differential case marking) and in agreement which cross references the core argument in verbal domain and shows verbal agreement with the subject or the object and also illustrates default agreement. Nominal and verbal properties of the language were discussed in the previous section, especially case system and agreement. This chapter, particularly examines the case marking of core arguments of the clause i.e. S, A and O.

4.1 Alignment in Kinnauri

Ergativity in terms of alignment pattern in a language means (a) the case marking of the core arguments and (b) the verb agreement pattern (Bickel & Nichols 2009). The alignment of core arguments also encodes grammatical relations that these core arguments (S, A, O) exhibits based on their syntactic role. These grammatical relations are described variously in typological studies.

The approach adopted here is based on Dixon's papers (1978; 1994) and is called the Dixonian approach. As per the Dixonian approach; the label S stands for the subject of an intransitive verb; A is the subject of a transitive verb and O is the direct object of a transitive verb. A/ O are grouped together, based on transitivity of the subject of

NP. In such languages, an ergative case appears at the subject position in contrast to a nominative case. An ergative type language receives an overt case at the subject position of nominal phrase in perfective and nominative in imperfective aspect while the verb is in agreement with its core arguments in the clause. Ergative case assignment encourages object agreement in the clause which is in contrast to the patterning of case and agreement in an accusative language which marks the subject with a nominative case and encourages subject agreement. When the verb cannot agree with the subject nor the object in the clause, verb takes a default form which is third person singular. The distribution of ergative case and nominative case can be illustrated in Hindi in examples –

136 chotti bittu-ko pitt-tii Ha
 name-Nom name-Acc hit-Imperf-F-Sg be-Pre-3Sg
 ‘Choti hits Bittu.’

137 chotti-ne chitthi di
 name-Erg letter-Nom give-Perf-F-Sg
 ‘Choti gave letter.’

138 chotti-ne bittu-ko pittaa
 name-Erg name-Acc Hit-Perf-3MS
 ‘Choti hit Bittu.’

In ex. (136), the subject takes a nominative case in imperfective and takes an ergative case when the verb is in perfective form, as in ex. (137-138). In above illustrations, the subject agrees with verb in ex. (136), while the verb agrees with object in ex. (137), depending on the ability of the subject or the object to trigger agreement with the verbⁱ. If neither of the two can trigger verbal agreement, the verb takes a default form, as in (138).

4.1.1 Case Marking in Kinnauri

Case in alignment typology is regarded to code grammatical relations of the core arguments of sentence constructions. Along with word order and agreement, case is one way of indicating grammatical relations of clause and of distinguishing one relation from other (Kroeger 2005:102). In Kinnauri, S or A (or the object) is case marked by affix or postposition depending on the transitivity of the sentence constructions. In ex. (139-146), case marking on nominal forms is either oblique (ergative, accusative, dative, instrumental, locative, genitive) or is absent (nominative). In the following section, we will focus on describing cases that are central to our discussion i.e. marking of S, A, O which is nominative, ergative, dative, and marking on object. Let us consider distribution of nominative case in Kinnauri:

139 kitab dam du/to
book-nom good be-pre
'Book is good.'

140 gi kinu shec-o tok
i-nom you (hon)- dat recognize-prog be-pre
'I am recognizing you.'

141 chotti kim-o tosh
name-nom home-loc be-pre-3sg
'Chotti is at home.'

142 gi rima khyac duk
i-nom field-pl-nom see/care be-pre-1sg
'I see/care fields.'

In ex. (139-142), subject NP takes nominative case which is phonologically null or unmarked. A clause can have more than one nominative (Butt 1993), as in ex. (142). In ex. (141), the locative case -o, marks an inanimate object. Some other cases in Kinnauri are marked as follows.

- 143 bittu-s kitab hushis
 name-erg book-nom read-perf-3sg
 ‘Bittu read a book.’
- 144 bittu choti-dwakc halu karash
 name-nom name-abl potato-nom bring-pst-3sg-hon
 ‘Bittu brought potato from Chotti.’
- 145 sudesht-is choti-u naamang tvashis
 name-erg name-gen name-nom call-pst-3sg
 ‘Sudesht called Tanu’s name.’
- 146 ama-s ang-u bergaa-s kulcis
 mother-Erg self-Dat stick-Inst beat-Obj-Pst-3Sg
 ‘Mother beat me with a stick.’

Ergative and instrumental case markers are identical; -s and -is (146). The distribution depends on syntactic meaning. Abative case is marked as postposition with animate noun or pronoun (144). It follows the animate base.

4.1.2 Grammatical Case and Semantic Case

Case can be divided into syntactic case or grammatical case and semantic case or inherent or thematic case based on their marking properties (Chomsky 1981, Haspelmath 2009). Grammatical case marks subject, object and indirect object, and can be marked with nominative case for subject, accusative case for object and dative case for indirect object. Unlike this, semantic case marks oblique arguments and adjuncts, and may be marked as genitive case for possessor, instrumental case and locative case for instrument and location respectively. Semantic cases are generally overtly case marked (Siewierska and Bakker 2009). In addition to assigning grammatical relations between subject/ object, and ergative/ absolutive, case also attests alignment patterns and other properties in alignment typology, like verb

agreement relationship which means agreement between verb and object or the O argument (Haspelmath 2005).

It can be pointed out that case encodes form/ meaning relationship in a construction. It can have different form and meaning and can be marked as inflection, coding forms like adpositions (Blake 2001, Haspelmath 2008) and clitics (Butt 2006). A case can thus encode forms for gender or number and can have different functions based on the case markers. Each case encodes certain core meaning or function, like nominative case is used for S and A in unmarked form, ergative case indicates subject of transitive verb (A) and absolutive case is used in ergative construction for unmarked direct object, accusative case for direct object or patient, dative case for indirect object (Haspelmath 2009).

Kinnauri has grammatical and semantic case markers which are used for arguments S, A and O, and oblique arguments and adjuncts, respectively. In Kinnauri, subject of a noun phrase are marked or unmarked depending upon the valency of the verb, object may or may not be marked for case relations and number. Considering ex. (147), subject of an intransitive verb takes unmarked nominative case whereas in ex. (148, 149), the subject of a transitive verb in past is marked by ergative case -is and -s.

Example: Case marking on S

147 chang yoc-id du
 child-Nom play-Impf be-Pre-3Sg
 ‘Child plays.’

Example: Case marking on A

148 chang-is khau jashid
 child-Erg Food eat-Perf-3Sg
 ‘Child ate food.’

149 ga-s angu kamang lanshid
 I-Erg. my-Dat work do-Perf.Sg
 ‘I did my work.’

Suffixes for case types in Kinnauri are illustrated in the tabulated form in table 13:

Table 13. Case Suffixes in Kinnauri

Case type	Form	Suffix	Function
Grammatical Case	Ergative	-s, -is	Case of subject of transitive in past tense. Marked as ergative or agentive, also called a ‘by case’
	Acc-dative	-pang,-nu, -u	Case of dO and IO of transitive verb.
	Genitive	-nu, -u, -n	Inflectional base, modifier of other cases.
Semantic cases	Instrumental	-s, -is	Agent in an action. Suffixed to inanimate substantive
	Locative	-o,	Inflected for inanimate objects for location of object or direction of action
	Ablative	-kc, -c	Suffixed to base of substantive or as postpositions. Tells relations, issue.

4.2 Marking of Core Arguments (S, A, O)

Nominal can bear any case marking on the grammatical subject position in the clause; we are concerned with the direct cases on the subject that marks the agent of the verb. Ergative case marks subject of a transitive verb (A) in perfective, in contrast to unmarked direct object and the nominative marked subject of intransitive verb (S), which is indicated in unmarked form. Kinnauri displays the use of affix -s or -is as ergative marker. These structures i.e. marking on S and A can be illustrated in (149-

152) and (153-154) respectively. ‘A’ bears nominative case if the verb is other than perfective, as illustrated in (155-156).

a) Case marking on ‘S’

149 sita thuriashid du
name-Nom run-Impf be.Pre
Sita runs.

150 sita yag-o dwe
name-Nom Sleep-Prog be.Pst
Sita was sleeping

151 changa yoco nito
Boy.Nom Play.Prog Be.Non Pst
Boys will be playing.

152 gi bazaar-o biyo duk
I-Nom market-Obl go.Prog be.Pre
I am going to market.

b) Case marking on ‘A’: ‘A’ bears nominative case in the non perfective tense.

153 guruji changa-nu kul-c du
teacher-Nom children-Acc Beat-Impf be.3PS
‘Teacher beats up children.’

154 choti nasom dzang jogta
choti-Nom tomorrow gold-Acc buy.Fut
‘Choti will buy gold tomorrow.’

c) Case marking on 'A' in perfective form

155 caiki-s khau jaashid
all-Erg food-Nom eat-Perf-Pst
'All have eaten food.'

156 gi-s ki-nu tangc📖ek
I-Erg you-Acc see-Obj-Pst
'I saw you.'

It can, therefore, be argued that transitivity is not the only criteria for ergativity; subjects may bear nominative or ergative on semantic basis.ⁱⁱ It is crucial to check the nature of case marking on S and A when the subject is nouns and pronouns in order to reach at a generalized case marking pattern in the language. In the next section, we will take up illustrated examples of case marking on common nouns and pronouns in simple constructions.

4.2.1 S/ A Marking on Nouns;

Following examples illustrate intransitive (157), transitive (158) and ditransitive (159) clauses in present tense. The recipient i.e. the indirect object in ditransitive clause is marked with a dative case.

a) Present tense, Past and Future, Non perfective

157 lattu biyo du
boy-Nom go-Acc be-Pre
'Kaka is going.'

158 mastar kyum juriao tokesh
teacher-Nom house make-Imprf be-Pst-3Sg (Hon)
'Teacher was making the house.'

- 159 changa skulo kamang lan to
 child-Pl-Nom school-Dat work do-Prog be-Fut
 ‘Children will do school (home) work.’

Nouns as subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs in present, non perfective tenses are marked nominative case as is exemplified above. In past tense, (A) argument gets ergative case and dO is overtly marked absolutiveⁱⁱⁱ. The ergative markers –s and –is, have their use in the clause as phonologically conditioned.

b) Past tense, Future, Non perfective

- 160 changa-s skulo kamang lanlan du
 child-Pl-Erg school-Dac work-Acc finish-Perf be-Pst
 ‘Children were doing school (home) work.’

- 161 mastar-is kyum juriashid
 teacher-Erg house-Nom make-Imprf be-Pst-3Sg (Hon)
 ‘Teacher made the house.’

- 162 bowa kyum juariato/sh
 father-Nom house-Nom make-Fut-3Sg (nonhon/hon)
 ‘Father will make the house.’

- 163 golu-s skulo kamang shusnshid
 name-Erg school work finish-Perf-Pst
 ‘Golu finished school work.’

- 164 mainga-is zori lanlan to
 Inflation-Erg trouble do-Perf be-pre
 ‘Inflation has done trouble.’

Animate nouns are also infected for number and gender though is not marked separately, but assigned different forms (161-164). Inanimate nouns are not marked for number.

165 tou mating-is cin①
 face-nom mud-inst clean-pst-3sg
 ‘Clean with mud.’

166 gi berga-s kulcak
 I-nom stick-inst beat- perf-fut-1Sg
 ‘I will beat with stick.’

Common nouns and proper nouns take same case markers, as in ex. (160, 165-169).

167 chotti biyosh
 name-Abs go-Pst
 ‘Choti went.’

168 chotti-s kyum juriashid
 name-erg house built-pst
 ‘Chotti built house.’

169 amas-is dao-pang shukli ranshid
 Mother-erg sister-dat money give-3p-pst
 ‘Mother gave money to sister.’

S, A takes case markers depending on their semantic role and valency. The case markers of arguments are- unmarked for nominative (S) in all tense, aspects; -is, -s for ergative case (A) in perfective and past and -u, -o for dative (IO) and unmarked for nominative, accusative for dO.

Case marking of common nouns and proper nouns in simple clause is shown in table 14, The case is inflected in all tenses based on the valency of arguments.

Table 14. Case Inflection on Arguments

	<u>Arguments</u>			
	S	dO	A	IO
Case	Nominative	Accusative	Ergative	Dative
Case markers	∅	∅	-i, -is	-o, pung

4.2.2 Marking on Pronouns in S, A position

Pronominal case marker of subject (S) in intransitive clauses is -∅ ‘Nom.’ In terms of case suffixes and number marking, personal pronouns behave similar to animate nouns. First person personal pronoun has different forms for inclusive exclusive numbers, and the second person and third person has different forms to indicate honorificity in all number. First person pronoun has gi- form in direct case and ergative case, in all other case it is replaced by -ang, whereas second persons and third person forms remain unchanged in all number and case. Table 15, 16, below show personal pronoun paradigm of nominative case with S, A in non perfective and ergative case with A in perfective.

Table 15 Personal Pronoun Paradigm in Nominative Case

1P	sg	du (incl/excl)	pl(incl/excl)
	gi	kashang/nishi	kashanga/ninga
2P	sg(hon/nonhon)	du(hon/nonhon)	pl(hon/nonhon)
	ki/ka	kinish/kanish	kina/kanega
3P	sg (hon/nonhon)	du(hon/nonhon)	pl(hon/nonhon)
	do/dogo	dosung/donnish	dogo/doga

Table 16 . Ergative Case on A in Perfective

1P	sg	du (incl/excl)	pl(incl/excl)
	gi-s	kashang-is/nishi-s	kashanga-s/ninga-s
2P	sg(hon/nonhon)	du(hon/nonhon)	pl(hon/nonhon)
	ki-s/ka-s	kinish-is/kanish-is	kina-s/kanega-s
3P	sg (hon/nonhon)	du(hon/nonhon)	pl(hon/nonhon)
	do-s/dogo-s	dosung-is/donnish-is	dogo-s/doga-s

From table 4.3, we get that pronominal forms that end with consonant takes –is as affix and –s when it ends with a vowel sound. The examples below exemplify case marking in different tenses: present, past and future:

a) Present, Past, Future tense:

1Person Singular

170 gi changa-nu kulo tok/tokek/nitok
i-nom boy-pl-acc hit-prog be-1p-sg-pre/pst/fut
‘I am/was/will be hitting boys.’

1Preson Dual (excl/incl)

171 nishi/ kashang changa-nu kulo toc/tokek/nitac
we-dual-(excl/incl)-nom boy-pl-acc hit-prog be-1du/pl-pre/pst/fut
‘We are/were/will be hitting boys.’

1Person Plural (excl/incl)

172 kashanga/ ninga changa-nu kulo toc/tokek/nitac
we-pl-(excl/incl)- nom Boy-pl-acc hit-prog be-1-pl-pre/pst/fut
‘We are hitting boys.’

In ex. (170-172), the subject takes nominative case and the object takes accusative case –nu. Tense markers in second and third persons are similar in all number.

2 Person Singular (nonhon)

- 173 ka changa-nu kulo ton
you-nonhon-nom boy-pl-acc hit-prog be-2p-sg
‘You are hitting boys.’

2 Person Dual (hon)

- 174 kinish changa-nu kulo toc
you-dual-hon-nom boy-pl-acc hit-prog be-2p-pre
‘You (two) are hitting boys.’

2 Person Plural (nonhon)

- 175 kanega changa-nu kulo toc
you-pl-nonhon-nom boy-pl-acc hit-prog be-pre-pl
‘you (pl) are hitting boys.’

3 Person Singular

- 176 dogo changa-nu kulo tosh
he-hon-nom boy-pl-acc hit-prog be-3p-pre
‘He is hitting boys.’

3 Person Dual

- 177 donish changa-nu kulo to
he-nom boy-pl-acc hit-prog be-3p-pre
‘They (two) are hitting boys.’

3 Person Plural

- 178 dogo changa-nu kulo tosh/toh
they-nonhon-nom boy-pl-acc hit-prog be-3p-pre
‘They are hitting boys.’

As illustrated in (173-178), pronoun exhibit nominative accusative case pattern in present imperfective in all number and person. Kinnauri has an extensive pronoun patterns for inclusive, exclusive and honorificity, and the pronoun takes different forms to show it. In (179-187), pronouns inflected for ergative case when the subject appears at agentive position and the aspect type is perfective.

b) Simple Past tense and perfective aspect:

1 Person Singular

179 gi-s changa-nu kulkul
i-erg boy-pl-nom hit-perf-pst
'I hit the boys.'

1 Person Dual (excl/incl)

180 nishi-s/ kashang-s changa-nu kulkul
we-dual-(excl/incl)-nom boy-pl-acc hit-perf
'We hit the boys.'

1 Person Plural (excl/incl)

181 kashanga-s/ ninga-s changa-nu kulac
we-pl-(excl/incl)-nom boy-pl-acc hit-pref-pst
'We hit the boys.'

2 Person Singular

182 ki/ka changa-nu kulo token/token
you- (hon/nonhon)-nom Boy-pl-acc hit-prog be-2p-pst
'you were hitting boys.'

2 Person Dual (hon)

183 kinish-is changa-nu kulkulo
you-dual-hon boy-pl-acc hit-perf
'you (two) hit the boys.'

2 Person Plural (hon/nonhon)

- 184 kina/kanega changa-nu kulkulo
 you-pl-(hon/nonhon)-nom boy-pl-acc hit-perf
 ‘you (pl) hit the boys.’

3 Person Singular

- 185 do-s changu kulkulo
 he- erg boy-acc hit-perf
 ‘He hit the boy.’

3 Person Dual

- 186 donnish-is radhe-pang kulkul
 he- (hon/nonhon)-nom nameacc hit-perf
 ‘They (two) hit Radhe.’

3 Person Plural

- 187 do-s kinu kuche
 He erg you-acc call-pst
 ‘He called you.’

To summarize, the table 17,below illustrates case marking on the subject in Kinnauri:

Table 17 Case Marking on the Subject

		sg	m.pl	pl
Nom	1	gi	nishi/kashang	ninga/kashanga
	2	ka/ ki	kanish/kishi	kaniga/kina
Erg	1	gas	nishi/kashnga	nosgas/kashangas
	2	kas/ kis	kasnishis/ kisis	kanegas/kinas
Acc	1	angu	nishu/kashangu	ninganu/kshanganu
	2	kanu/kinu	kanishu/kisu	kaneganu/kinanu

4.2.3 Differential Object Marking

The stated alignment patterning assigns nominative/ absolutive to the object of the transitive verb in ergative type languages and accusative to the object of transitive verb in accusative type languages which is unmarked. In languages, this pattern is not an absolute phenomenon. In Kinnauri, the O argument of both transitive and intransitive verb in imperfective and perfective is marked to express specificity, thus alternating with nominative in O marking. See in ex. (188), O argument is marked with a postposition –nu, when the speaker wishes to be specific.

188 anita-s Gasa cici to
 name-erg cloth-pl-nom clean-perf be-pre
 ‘Anita has cleaned clothes.’

189 anita-s gasa-nu cici to
 name-erg cloth-pl-acc clean-perf be-pre
 ‘Anita has cleaned the clothes.’

The marking of O argument is possible in different ways depending on the semantic criteria like animacy, definiteness/ specificity, volationality and topicality. The varying marking of O is a phenomenon found in many languages and is called differential object marking (DOM).

In Kinnauri, object is always marked and inanimate objects are marked when the object is definite. The postpositions marking the O argument are –u, -nu and –pang. Notice the marking of O in examples (190-194);

190 gi do-pang khayac duk
 i-erg he-acc see-nonprog be-pre
 ‘I see him.’

191 gi-s do-pang khyashid
 i-erg He-Acc see-pst-MS

‘I saw him.’

192 gi-s chang kyuashid

i-erg child-acc see-pst

‘I saw a boy.’

In ex. (190-191), the DO is marked with the postposition –pang and –u when the object is definite. The object doesn’t take postposition when it is not definite, as in (192). In ex. (193-194), the object is inanimate and definite, and it takes the postposition –u;

193 gi-s changu khyashid

i-erg child-Acc see-pst

‘I saw the child.’

194 biTTu-s gasa-nu esacis tashid

Name-erg clothes-Acc carefully keep-pst-3p-sg

‘Bittu kept the cloths carefully.’

In pronominal objects, the postposition -pang is used to mark the singular form of the non proximate or the remote object whereas –u and –nu are used to mark dual and plural forms of the proximate objects. Demonstrative pronoun objects are marked only when the object is animate (195). Pronominal objects are marked almost obligatorily since they are animate and definite (195-197).

195 kis angu thu ma kucis

You-erg me-acc why Neg call-pst

‘Why you didnt call me.’

196 ki dogonu kurin

You-Nom them-acc Call-fut

‘You call them.’

197 gi dogonu kutok
 You- nom them-acc Call-fut
 ‘I will call them.’

4.2.3.1 Marking of Indirect Object (IO)

In Kinnauri, O argument show dual marking when there is an indirect object (IO) in a sentence along with the direct object (DO). IO is marked dative case and DO is marked accusative case, as illustrated in examples above, by similar postpositions markers. Recalling ex (188), while the accusative case can alternate with nominative to show specificity, dative case cannot do so. Dative case of IO expresses the notion of goal or experiencer in theta role criterion while the DO expresses the notion of benefactor or patient role in thematic role in agent-patient relationship. IO is marked obligatorily in Kinnauri, as in Hindi- Urdu. In the illustration (198), IO takes –ko postposition where as DO is unmarked; if –ko be dropped the sentence becomes ungrammatical, meaning that the IO is marked on IO obligatorily while the DO can be unmarked or marked.

198 choti-ne biTTu-ko/ ø* kitaab dii
 name-erg name-Dat book-OBJ give-pst
 “Chotti gave book to Bittu.”

“Dative case marked on IO indicates the semantic notions of 'goal', 'focus', 'physical state', 'possession' and 'non-volitionality’” (Das 2011). In Kinnauri, dative case marking on IO is obligatory. Let us see in illustrations below.

199 sarita-s kinu kimo kicis
 name-erg you-dat home call-3sg-pst
 ‘Sarita called you home.’

200 sarita-s kinu kucis
 name-erg you-acc call-3sg-pst
 ‘Sarita called you home.’

201 rimo i chang koco du
 field-loc a child-nom play-imperf be-1p-pre
 ‘A boy is calling.’

202 rimo poonamu chang yoco du
 field-nom name-dat child Play-impf Be-1p-pre
 ‘A child is calling Poonam in the field.’

In ex (199) & (202), IO is marked dative case –u. Dative case always marks animate IO and express specificity. Let us see some more examples,

203 kis Angu kimoc kucia
 you-erg me-dat home-loc call-impf-3s
 ‘You called me from home’

204 gi-s Kinu batyacamu tangis kucis
 i-erg you-Dat talk- to-nonprog call-pst-3s
 ‘I called you to talk.’

205 gi-s nupang skulo fishid
 i-erg he-dat School-loc take-pst
 ‘I took him to school’

206 gi-s changa-nu ou ranak
 I.erg Children-dat flower-gen be-pst
 ‘I gave flowers to children.’

207 ki changa-nu khau rac ton^①
 you-nom children-dat food-gen give be-pre
 ‘You give food to children.’

In the illustrations (203-207), IO expresses the notion of recipient but not the direct beneficiary. Beneficiary benefits from an action directly whereas the recipient benefits when a transfer of an action takes place. IO, thus is an indirect beneficiary. In ex, (208-209), IO is marked -pang.

208 bittu-s rinku-pang chithi sheda
 name-erg name-dat letter send-pst.3sg
 ‘Bitu sent letter to Rinku’

209 gi-s nu-pang skulo khyak
 i-erg him-dat School see-pst.1sg
 ‘I saw him in the school’

4.3 Verb Agreement in Kinnauri

In this section, it is sought to take the agreement system in Kinnauri. Similar to the case marking alignment pattern, a language by cross referencing of verbs with the NPs identifies the language as accusative or ergative. Ergative agreement treats intransitive subjects and transitive objects alike, with the exclusion of transitive subjects (Comrie 1978, Dixon 1979).

The verb includes affixes which marks for person, number or gender features of the NPs. A language shows a nominative-accusative agreement if the affixes cross referencing of NPs in S and A is similar with the exclusion of O. In Swahili, nom-acc agreement is expressed, as in examples below:

Examples: Swahili (quoted from Dixon 1994:42)

217 tu-li-aliuka
We fell down

218 m-li-aliuka
You all fell down

219 m-li-tu-ona
You all saw us

220 tu-li-wa-ona
We saw you all

The pronominal affixes from the illustrations show that cross referencing NPs i.e agreement of NPs with verb is in S/A function, with the exclusion of O function, hence giving a non-acc agreement. The relationship is tabulated as below:

Table 18. Pronominal affixes in Swahili

	S/A	O
1p plural	tu	tu
2p plural	m	wa

In ergative agreement pattern, the NPs cross referencing NPs are in S/O function and different from A function. Abaza, a Caucasian language, show such a pattern.

Examples: Abaza (quoted from Dixon 1994:42)

221 d- \emptyset ad
He/she is gone

222 h- \emptyset ad

We have gone

223 h-l-bad

She saw us

224 h-y-bad

He saw us

225 d-h-bad

We saw him/her

The pronominal affix relationship in the language is tabulated as below:

Table 19. Pronominal affixes in Abaza

	S/O	A
1person plural	h	h
3person singular (m/f)	d	y, l

The pronominal affixes from the illustrations show that affixes that cross reference NP are in S/O function, with the exclusion of A function, hence giving a ergative agreement.

Kinnauri shows subject and object agreement with the verb in different numbers (singular and dual/ plural) and persons (first person, second person and third person). Kinnauri lacks grammatical gender so the verb does not inflect for gender agreement. Agreement is realized by affixes that are attached to the verb and occur between the verb and the person and tense/ aspect markers. In the following sub sections, we will

see illustrations to realize the type of function i.e. nominative or ergative, the cross referencing of affixes with NPs form.

4.3.1 Subject Agreement in Kinnauri

4.3.1.1 Verbal inflection markers in Kinnauri

The agreement markers are inflected to the verb showing agreement and other correlations. Both transitive and intransitive verbs take the same subject markers. The inflectional suffixes in subject agreement are- first person singular is takes suffix –k; first person dual and plural inclusive takes suffix –c, exclusive suffix form is unmarked; second person singular honorific takes suffix -in; dual and plural is -c. Non honorific marker is –n for all numbers. Third person honorific marker is -sh in all number and is unmarked in non honorific in all number. The distribution of affixes in subject agreement in Kinnauri is tabulated in table 20:

Table 20. Subject marking affixes in Kinnauri

	1person	2person		3person	
		hon	nonhon	hon	nonhon
Sg	-k	-in	-n	-sh	∅
du/ pl	-c	-c	-n	-sh	∅

Agreement in a language shows grammatical properties of the subject of the clause on the verb. Various agreement affixes in different tenses and aspects in the language is illustrated in the following sections.

4.3.1.2 Imperfective Aspect markers

Kinnauri has –c and –id imperfective markers. –id appears after the object agreement markers and also after the verb endings –c and –sh, see ex. (225a). -to occurs in all other situations, as in ex. (225b).

Examples quoted from Saxena 1995:278)

225a ram huyu Kimo toshid du^{iv}
Name-nom this House-loc Live-impf be-pre
'ram lives in this house.'

225b gi diaro kamango bic duk
i everyday work-loc go-impf be-pre
'I go to work every day.'

Kinnauri is not known to have too many aspects. Let us consider some examples to illustrate aspect markings in Kinnauri.

a) Present Simple Tense

Copular in the present simple form is -to and -du, as already discussed in ch. 3 under tense and aspect sub sections. They appear in all nun future forms. As already discussed, first person takes -k-, second person has nasalization -in for honorific and -n for non honorific. The third person has \emptyset form in non honorific and -sh in honorific in all person. Let us see in examples, the use of markings in imperfective:

225c gi khau zac tok
i-nom food- acc eat be 1prst
i eat food.

225d ka khau zac ton
You- 2nom food-acc eat be-2-pre
you eat food.

225e ki khau zac toin
you- 2-nom food-acc eat be-2pre-hon
you eat food.

225f mohan khau zac du/to
 Name-3p-nom food.acc eat be-3-pre
 mohan eats food.

225g Mohan khau zac tosh
 name 3p-hon-nom Bread-acc eat be -3-pre-hon
 mohan eats food

In progressive aspect, -o is affixed to the verb. It appears alike in present, past and future progressives, alike.

Examples: Progressive Aspect

225h do anu ring-su kulo du
 he-nom his wife-dat hit-prog be-p-3sg
 he is hitting his wife

225i ki bazaar biyo nitoin
 you-2-nom market go-prog be-1p-fut
 You will be going to market.

b) Perfective Aspects Markers:

In perfective aspects, -s or -is is affixed to the main verb that marks for ergative case hence blocking agreement of verb and the subject. In perfective aspect, the verb reduplication takes place. The reduplication of the verb takes place by the reduplication of the final syllable of the verbal stem. The reduplication takes place in all verb forms except with the verbs that end with ‘-c’ and ‘-sh’ in which case suffix ‘-is’ is used. Let us see some of the examples:

Examples: Perfective Aspect

225j do-s kinu gyac-is du
 He-erg You-Nom like-perf Be-pre3s
 ‘He has liked you.’

225k gi kamang lano tok
 i-nom work Know-pst be-1s
 'I am doing work.'

c) Simple Past Tense markers:

Past tense markers are -e, -a, and o. The marker -e is used when verb ends with -c or sh. -a is used when verb ends with a consonant. If the verb ends in -a or -o, the past tense is marked covertly with verb.

Examples: Simple Past

225l gi-s seo dzak
 I-erg apple-acc eat-1-pst
 I ate an apple.

225m ka-s seo dzadza
 you- 2p-erg apple acc eat-prf-pst
 You ate an apple.

225o do-s khau dzad
 he-2p-nom Apple-acc eat-pst
 He ate food.

d) Future tense markers:

Future tense markers are -ta,- ti, -te, -to, -o. let us see some examples:

Examples: Future tense

225p gi seo dzatok
 I-1p-nom apple-acc eat-fut-1p-sg
 I will eat an apple.

225q ka seo dzaton
 you-2p-nom apple-acc eat-fut-1p-sg
 you will eat an apple.

4.3.1.1 Subject Agreement in S

Most of the intransitive verbs in Kinnauri show subject agreement. The ‘S’, according to the theta grid criteria has an external argument and doesn’t have an object. The S thus is eligible to show subject agreement only with the verbs taking agreement features of its subject. Depending on the tense of the verb, subject agreement is shown in person and number. It has been exemplified in the following examples:

226 γgi Thuriashid tok
 i-nom run-impf be-pre
 ‘I run.’

226a. kashanga yago tokec
 we-nom sleep-prog be-pst-1pl
 ‘We were sleeping.’

226b kina yoco nitoc
 you-hon-pl-nom play-prog Be-fut-1pl
 ‘You work very hard.’

In examples above, the intransitive verbs, being one place predicate with regard to the ‘argument structure,’ can take just one argument i.e. the external argument (subject). There is no object agreement in the clause. The verbs agree with their subjects in number, and person.

In cases where intransitive verb takes a postpositional phrase as an adjunct, i.e. an NP/ a PP dominated by main verb and a helping verb, the verb do not shows agreement with it pp or adjunct. For example:-

227 kina wali koshtTang lanc toc
 you-hon-pl-Nom Very hard work do do-2Pl-Pres
 ‘You (all) work very hard.’

227a changa bairang yoco du
 children-pl-Nom outside-loc play-prog be-pre
 ‘Children are playing outside.’

The illustrations above show that the intransitive verbs, when it takes a postpositional phrase as an adjunct, do not show agreement with it. The intransitive verb and the auxiliary if any agree with the subject in person and number.

So, ‘S’ in Kinnauri shows a nominative type agreement alignment where the intransitive verbs agree with the subject in person and number. There is agreement markers for honorificity; the plural forms in first and second person have similar subject affixe markers, ex. (226a,b).

4.3.1.2 Subject Agreement in A

‘A’ has a subject and the direct object i.e. an external and an internal argument respectively. The verb in a transitive clause can show agreement with the nominative subject in both imperfective and perfective aspects. Let us see examples of transitive sentences in imperfective aspects:

228 mohan chang-u kulc du
 name-nom boy-acc beat-imperf be-pre-3sg
 ‘Mohan hits the boy.’

228a gi changa-nu khau rantok
 i-nom boy-acc food give-impf-1sg-fut
 ‘I will give food to the boys.’

228b doga khau pado dwe
 they-3pl-nom food-acc cook-prog be-3pl-pst
 ‘They were cooking food.’

In the examples, we notice that the verbs in imperfective takes the agreement features in person and number of its external argument, which in these examples are overtly marked. The verbs and auxiliaries in ex. (228,a,b) agree with their subjects in number and person. In ex. (228a,b), the objects *khau* and *pado* are unmarked and the verbs do not agree with these objects. This is due to the Silverstein hierarchy, where the higher NPs tend to get precedence in feature markings.

The verbs show agreement with ‘A’ i.e. their external argument in perfective aspect as well. This type of agreement is not a straight forward phenomenon. In languages, particularly in case of ergative languages, expected agreement alignment in perfective aspect will be the verbs agree with the objects or when the object is overtly marked the verbs take default form. Let us look at these examples before I substantiate my point:

229 gi ju kamang lanlan tok
 i-nom this work do-perf be-pst-1sg
 ‘I have done this work.’

230. pinki aio golos-tang kamang shungshung nito
 name-nom next month-till work finish-perf be-fut-1p-sg
 ‘Pinki will have finished the work by next month.’

231. {ama rang bowa shimla γbibi du
 mother and father place go-perf be-pre
 ‘Mother and father have gone to Shimla.’

The verbs in these examples in perfective aspects agree with their subjects. The perfective is marked by reduplication of the main verb in Kinnauri (in most cases), the *be-* verb i.e. auxiliaries (*tok*, *nito*, *du*) in such constructions appear more like a light

verb (LV) instead of its usual role of an inflectional entities. In these examples, the light verbs affect the marking of agreement features of the verb and its subject i.e. ‘A.’ This LV, marks for tense and aspect and subject markings where as the main verb carries the semantic meaning of the verb with the LV.

Kinnauri has ditransitive or three place predicate sentences depending on the valency of the verb. A ditransitive verb has direct object (dO) and indirect object (IO) as its internal arguments or the ‘O’ argument besides the subject. IO is used in a ditransitive clause when some additional information or participants is/are sort. dO can be marked or unmarked, but IO is always marked, as we saw in previous section (4.3.2). Verb agrees with subject in imperfectives, ex. (232) and the verb takes default form in perfective, ex. (233). Let us consider some examples from ditransitives:

232. {tanvi angu hindi huchid γdu
 name-nom me-acc hindi teach-imperf be-pre
 ‘Tanvi teaches me Hindi.’

233 mansi-s kuljit-u kitab ranran
 name-nom Name-dat book-ac give-3S-Pst
 ‘Mansi gave the book to Kuljeet.’

4.3.2 Object Agreement in Kinnauri

In the ergative languages, e.g. Hindi-Urdu, object agreement conforms to the ergative alignment where the subject is overtly marked and the verb is not able to agree with it. The verb instead agrees with object argument which is in bare form. But in Kinnauri as we have seen in examples earlier too, object agreement is very rare in the language. The verb either agrees with A argument, if the subject is unmarked, or it takes default form. Kinnauri show object agreement only with first and second person pronouns. The object marker is suffixed with the main verb. Object agreement occurs in all tenses and aspects.

234 doga-s angu kuchis
 they-erg me-dat call-obj-pst3p
 they called me

235 choti-s angu tangchis
 name-erg me-dat see-obj-pst3p
 ‘Choti saw me’

236 gi choti-pang tanak
 i nom name-acc see-1- pst
 you will eat an apple.

In (236), object agreement is absent when the object is third person. The examples above illustrates that object-verb agreement arise when subject ceases to control the agreement of verb and giving rise to ergativity where subject loses control over agreement due to being overtly case marked and direct object of transitive verb which is in bare form controls the agreement. Let us see some more examples:

237 sita-s ral jashid
 name-3s-erg rice-acc eat-pst
 ‘sita ate rice.’

238 ram-is salman-uv kItAb rana
 name-3s-erg salman-dat book-acc give-pst
 ‘ram gave a book to salman.’

4.4 Summary of Main Points

Kinnauri shows verbal agreement with subject in both intransitive and transitive i.e. A/S in all person and number. Since the language lack a grammatical gender so gender agreement is also absent. Kinnauri show distinct agreement markings in honorific and non honorific. In very rare cases verbal agrees with objects, only when the objects are first and second person pronouns. Verbs do not show agreement with the third person pronoun objects. The object agreement occurs in all tenses and aspects.

In case of case marking, Kinnauri attests ergative case affixed to the transitive verbs in perfective aspects and simple past tense. Ergative markers being –s with a phonological variant –is. The later is affixed to the transitive subjects ending in consonants and -s is affixed to other subjects.

As for the ergative literature on Kinnauri is concerned, Saxena (2011) and Nishi (1990) have noted that ergative markers are attested on transitive subjects in perfective and simple past, optionally in case of subjects in first person and second person, and almost obligatorily in third person subjects. I didn't found enough evidence in my data for such a generalization. I found that ergative markers appear with the transitive subjects in all persons in perfective and past tense almost obligatorily. The speakers though agreed that by dropping the ergative case, the sentence will still be grammatically correct construction but insisted that the constructions with an ergative markers is more natural. Saxena (2011) noted that ergative in Kinnauri have a discourse function. Since the present study focus on alignment in a typological framework and focused on the distribution and analysis of ergativity, a discourse function analysis was not attempted. It may be pursued in future research. The pronominal prefixes in Kinnauri, the following table presents a tabulated inflectional pattern in Kinnauri.

Table 21 Pronominal Inflectional paradigm

		sg	du	pl
Nom	1	gi	nishi/kashang	ninga/kashanga
	2	ka/ ki	kanish/kishi	kaniga/kina
	3			
Erg	1	gas	nishi/kashnga	nosgas/kashangas
	2	kas/ kis	kasnishis/ kisis	kanegas/kinas
	3			
Acc	1	angu	nishu/kashangu	ninganu/kshanganu
	2	kanu/kinu	kanishu/kisu	kaneganu/kinanu
	3			
Abl	1	anu dwanch	nishu/kashangu	ninganu/kashangnu
	2	kandangch	kanu/kanishu	kananu/kinanu

End Notes

ⁱ In order to trigger verbal agreement by subject or object, requirement is that the participant, i.e. subject or object, should be bare form in order to facilitate agreement.

ⁱⁱ Several studies are available in Hindi- Urdu on ergative and transitivity association. See Kachru (1981) for details

ⁱⁱⁱ Lot many theories are floating regarding the use of absolutive in place of accusative to mark direct object of transitive verb, we do not intend to resolve that debate and will simply adopt absolutive to mark dO.

^{iv} In Saxena (1994), ‘-du’ doesn’t follow verbs ending with imperfective markers ‘-id,’ but in my data ‘-du’ occurs in the said environment, inconsistent though.

CHAPTER 5

Ergativity in Neighboring Languages

Himachal Pradesh is very rich region in terms of linguistic diversity but not much is available in terms of the syntactic description of languages. As such, It remains a poorly documented region in linguistics. In the following section, I present an analysis of some of the languages spoken in the region. Himachal Pradesh doesn't have an indigenous official language. In this section I will present the main features of ergativity in Kangri, Hindi, Shumcho and Tibetan without going into details of the ergative distribution.

Hindi is a major Indo Aryan language which is the major language of India, especially North India. In Kinnaur also it is used as a lingua franca. Hindi is used as official language in the State for all official purposes, educational institutions, lower courts and in trade, market places as well. Kangri is one of the languages spoken by a large majority in the state. It is spoken in Hamirpur, Bilaspur, Kangra, and parts of Una districts with slight variations in the speech. Tibetan is a language of the Tibet plateau in the high Himalayas. Shumcho is a language spoken in the Kanam valley in Kinnaur. It is an undocumented language. Sporadic mention is found in Grierson's LSI (1909) documents which relate the language to Zhang Zhung dialects. A variety of Tibetan which is called Bhoti locally is spoken in parts of Himachal Pradesh in Kinnaur, Spiti, migrated population in Dharamshala in Kangra and parts of Kullu.

5.1 Kangri

Kangri is an Indo-Aryan language which is considered to be a sub dialect of dogri Punjabi by Grierson (1916). This is spoken in Kangra region of Himachal Pradesh in India. Like most Indo Aryan languages, Kangri exhibits split-ergative pattern of case marking in the perfective aspect. In Kangri, pronouns are morphologically covertly marked for agentivity in first person subjects and are overtly marked with ergative case when the agent is second person and third person. Ergative case appears on the agents in the perfective aspect and simple aspect of past tense in transitive and ditransitive verbs, while in intransitive verbs the agents takes the nominative case. Alignment of ergative case and agreement in Kangri is illustrated in the following examples Kangriⁱ:

252. mai rotti khadii
 I food eat-pst
 ‘I ate food.’

253. aha rotti khadii
 we-erg food eat-pst
 ‘We ate food’.

254. tae rotti khadii
 you-erg food eat-pst
 ‘You ate food’.

255. uni/tini rotti khadii
 he-erg food eat-pst
 ‘He ate food’.

256. une/tine rotti khadii
 she-erg food eat-pst
 ‘She ate food’.

257. una rotti khadii
 they-erg food eat--pst
 ‘They ate food’.

It can be noted that, Kangri pronouns mark ergative covertly in first person subject but marks ergative overtly when the subject is second person or third person in perfective and past simple tense in transitive verbs. First person ergative marking is recognized by phonological change in tone by the speaker. In Kangri, object agreement is found that is very common or a standard premises of ergative agreement type languages. In the ex. (253-257), the subject nominal is overtly marked with an ergative case due to which it cannot trigger agreement with the verb and the verb has to agree with the other bare arguments in the NP which is direct object. It agrees for person and case features. Let us see example of object-verb agreement in Kangri, as illustrated here:

- 258 mai rotti khadii
 I food-f eat-m-fem-pst
 I ate food’.

259. tae seu khade
 you-erg apple-pl eat-masc-pst
 ‘You/ Janu ate apples’.

260. tinaa kela khade
 they banana- eat-msc-pst
 ‘They ate bananas’.

In exs. (258-260), the object controls the verb agreement depending on the features of the objects. In the illustrations above, the verb marks for the grammatical gender, feminine in (258), and masculine in (259-260). We can conclude that ergativity in Kangri in general is marked as well as unmarked.

5.2 Hindi

It is established that ergative in Hindi is manifest in past tense and perfective aspect in transitive verbs. Ergative is morphologically marked on the transitive subject with ‘-ne’ in all person and number. In ex. (261-263), the distribution of the ergative case and the agreement in Hindi is illustrated. Quoting Mohanan (1994:105), agreement in Hindi manifests as, "*The verb agrees with the highest argument associated with the nominative case.*"

Example: Hindi (quoted from Mohanan, 1994:105)

261. sitaa raam-ko piit-tii hai
name-f-nom name-m-acc hit-imperf-f-sg aux-3sg-pre
'Sita hits Ram.'

262 raam-ne ciddiyaa dekh-ii
name-m-erg bird-f-nom see-perf-sg
'Ram saw a sparrow.'

263. sitaa-ne radhaa-ko piitt-aa
name-f-erg- name-f-acc hit-perf-msg
'Sita hit Radha

In ex. (261), verb agrees with the unmarked nominative subject. In ex. (262), verb agrees with the direct object, because it is the highest nominative argument. The nominative subject which is ergative marked cannot trigger agreement between the verb and the subject. In ex. (264), the verb cannot agree with either of the arguments i.e. subject and object since both are marked, verb therefore shows a default agreement which is third person singular masculine.

5.3 Tibetan

Tibetanⁱⁱ is a language spoken in the plateau of Tibet, parts of North India (Laddakh, Spiti and Upper Kinnaur (Bhoti)ⁱⁱⁱ in Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand) and Northeast India, Bhutan, parts of Nepal and Baltistan (Vollmann 2008:10). Tibetan ergative case has proven to be difficult to explain. It is obligatory on the A argument of a perfective transitive verb, and is optional in non-perfective tense/aspects, as illustrated in ex. (264-266).

Examples: Tibetan (adopted from De Lancey, 1984)

264 ngas stag bsadpa yin
 1-erg tiger kill-pst perf
 ‘I killed tiger.’

265 nga/-s stag gsodkyi yod
 1 tiger kill-nonpst Pre
 ‘I am killing a tiger.’

266 nga/-s stag gsodkyi yin
 1 tiger kill-nonpst fut
 ‘I will kill a tiger.’

Ergativity also occurs optionally on S arguments in perfective intransitive clauses when the action referred is intentional action. This is not possible in imperfective one argument clauses:

267. nga-s bod-la phyin-ba yin
 I-erg palcet-loc went-perf
 ‘I went to Tibet.’

268 nga*-s bod-la gro-gyi yod
 ‘I am going to Tibet.’

269 nga*-s bod-la gro-gyi yin
 'I will go to Tibet.'

5.4 Shumcho

Shumcho is one among the languages spoken in Kinnaur in the Himalayan state of Himachal Pradesh in India.^{iv} It is an undocumented, endangered language spoken in Kanam, Spillow and Karla villages of Kanam valley in Upper Kinnaur by less than 3000 people. The language belongs to the West Tibeto- Kinauri subgroup of the SinoTibetan language family (Shafer, Robert 1955).^v Figure below gives classification of the Shumcho language in the western Himalayan subgroup. Shumcho use ergative case in perfective with transitive verbs. The marker for ergative case is –s and –is, like Kinnauri Shumcho too has phonological variant of ergative caes -s. Nominative is unmarked in imperfective and non past in transitive and intransitive sentences. Examples of sentences in nominative and ergative are as follows:

270 ram karlatu tosh
 name-nom run be-ip-pre
 ‘Ram runs.’

271 sita ayonu toresh
 name-non sleep-prog be-3p-pst
 ‘Sita was sleeping.’

272 gi bajaar jeo tokh
 i-nom market go be-1p-pre
 ‘I am going to market.’

273 bittu-s jii kitab laf kyau
 name-nom this book read-perf be-pst
 ‘Bittu has read this book.’

274 ono-s anu kitab Oya shethau jeu tash
 he-erg his book here leave perf be-3p-pst
 ‘He left his book here.’

275 pinki kusum-ra angrezi laapun tashe
 name-nom name-dat english teach be-pst
 ‘Pinki used to teach English to Choti.’

From the illustrations above, it is clear that the subjects take nominative case when it is in non perfective and takes ergative case when the verb is in perfective form as in ex. (273-274). In ex. (275-277), ergative marking is illustrated clearly in perfective aspects and past tenses. Shumho verbs seem to take default form in perfective, in the illustrations. The language data was not enough to provide a detailed explanation of the ergativity in Shumcho. It will be one of my future goals to describe the language and compare the alignment with other Tibeto-Burman languages. .

275 kaka-s caa tungrish
 name-erg tea drink-pst-3sg
 ‘Kaka drank tea.’

276 misti-s seo chongresh
 name-erg apple buy-pst-3sg
 ‘Misti bought apples.’

277 mohan-is thakthu jaresh
 name-erg food eat-pst-3sg
 ‘Mohan ate food.’

End Notes

ⁱ Data for Kangri was shared by Anil Swadeshi, a Kangri speaker. I thank you for his support.

ⁱⁱ Data discussed in this section represent the Lhasa Tibetan variety.

ⁱⁱⁱ Spiti, Kinnauri Bhoti and Laddakhi are considered varieties of Tibetan, though they are good enough to be called a separate and independent languages. It is reliably learnt that the language spread outside the place of origin (i.e. Tibetan plateau) when people they started moving to places like Central Asia and Southeast Asia in early 5 c.

^{iv} I did not conduct a detailed study the language in order to be able to provide a detailed language structure and other grammatical properties. Still considering that it is one of the languages of Kinnauri, it was felt that even little information will be useful.

^v Robert Shafer. 1955. Classification of the Sino-Tibetan languages. Word 11(94-111).

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to explore and focus on the describe ergativity in Kinnauri, a Tibeto-Burman language of Kinnaura tribe of western Himalayas in North India. The thesis has six chapters introducing the issues related to the goals of the study, the theoretical background and the distribution of ergativity in Kinnauri. Besides, the thesis provided information on land, people and their history followed by a general description of language, its genetic classification, vitality status, an account of previous studies and an analysis of Kinnauri to determine typological and morphological characteristics of the language keeping in view the typology of Tibeto-Burman languages and structural type of other languages that exhibits ergativity. The description and analysis of the data in the thesis was done within the typological framework with the aim to analyze, describe and compare the ergativity pattern in the language, keeping Dixon's primitives S, A, and O at the centre of describing morphological marking and cross referencing in Kinnauri. Such a framework was most suited for describing languages considering that it is primed to be a general typological study to understand the alignment pattern in a language which has not been described so far.

6.1 Summary of the Thesis

This thesis looked into ergativity in Kinnauri in a typological framework, thus looking at the morphological ergativity in the language. In doing so, a detailed analysis and discussion has been undertaken in this research work. Kinnauri has been provided as a reference point to compare the morphological variations in the ergative languages.

At the outset of the chapter, preliminaries were discussed that included the details of topography, history and the literature on Kinnauri. Kinnauri is a language of the Kinnaura tribe in the rugged mountainous region in the northeastern side of Himachal Pradesh, called Kinnaur. People here are animist in their beliefs, are hardworking and lively. Till recent, the region was inaccessible to the outside world. Special permit was issued by the district administration to visit the region. This was done to preserve the indigenous tribe and their language, culture and their livelihood. The isolation benefitted them in maintaining their identity which otherwise was under threat due to modernization. The region has many other language varieties which are all sometimes called Kinnauri collectively. The data discussed in the thesis is from Ropa valley which is also called the standard variety because it is spoken and is intelligible to majority of people. In the past, Kinnaur has been a buffer region between the present day northern side of India and the wandering tribes like the Kirats from the Nepal hills, Mongols from the Tibetan plateau, and the Khash from the plains of Nepal. The ancient Hindu texts like Vedas and Puranas, provides evidence to belief that the region was also inhabited by the Indo-Aryan and the Munda speaking people from the northern plains and central India respectively, in the early parts of 5th c. The effect of the amalgamation of language and culture is evident from the life and language of present day Kinnaura tribe. There is much cultural and linguistic similarity in Kinnaur with the mentioned regions. Kinnauri language is full of words from Munda, Tibetan, Kirati, Burushaski, and Sanskrit. In recent times, many words from Hindi and Pahari (a form of Punjabi) have found space in Kinnauri due to increased mixing of the populations and access to education. The classification of Kinnauri as given in the thesis is based on Benedict (1972) and Shaffer (1954). The language belongs to the West-Himalayish (WH) subgroup of Tibeto-Burman language family. Kinnauri is a

vulnerable languageⁱ due to shrinking domain of use under pressure from dominating languages like Hindi and English which are considered, unfortunately, the language of opportunities and prestige. Considering that it is an oral language, survival of the language and the culture looks alarmingly bleak (Negi 2012). Previous studies in Kinnauri were done during the British rule in India by the officials and traveler. Their description provides a glimpse into early life and the status of use of language. In recent times, many linguists and other scholars have shown keen interest to describe the language.

The typological characteristics of Kinnauri and described the phonology, syntax and morphology of the language is provided in the last section of the chapter. Based on Greenberg Universals (1963), Kinnauri has been classified, although the Universals are no longer considered Universal. Typologically, Kinnauri shares similarities in its morphology and syntax with other Tibeto-Burman languages. It is a head final with a SOV constituent order. The core arguments precede the verb; in a transitive verb the argument 'A' will precede the argument 'O.' Speakers though may move the arguments depending upon pragmatics factors. Kinnauri subjects shows person and number agreement with the verb and object agreement when the object is in first or second person pronoun. Other attested features are- adjective precedes head in the noun phrase; modifiers precede the head noun; causative occurs after main verb; marker of comparison follows the standard of comparison; negatives are pre-verbal; auxiliary follows the main verb; anaphor follows the antecedent and main clause precedes the subordinate clause. It exhibits some exceptions in SOV language features. SOV language should have prepositional genitives and adjective should follow noun but Kinnauri has postpositional genitive and the adjective precedes the noun.

Chapter two presents a concise account of the theoretical background of ergativity and a pertinent review of the core concepts associated with it. Starting with the work on Dixon and Comrie, the study goes on to embark upon the major contributions to the ergative literature in a typological framework.

Chapter Three gives an overview of relevant properties of Kinnauri morphology and syntax bringing under the gamut case system, agreement and the tense system.

In chapter four, Kinnauri data was examined and analyzed in order to determine the alignment typology in the language. In Kinnauri, ergativity manifest at morphological level. At the morphological level, Kinnauri shows ergative characteristics in its case morphology and agreement behavior. The subject of a transitive verb ‘A’ is overtly marked ergative with the affixes -s and -is; the markers used depending on the phonological environment. The subject NPs ending with a vowel takes -s and the subject NPs ending with a consonant takes -is as ergative case. Nominative and absolutive case in Kinnauri languages is morphologically nul. Likewise, subject of intransitive verb and object of transitive verb are not be overtly assigned a morphological case.

Kinnauri is a split ergative language, like most South Asian languages. Subject NPs are marked nominative in the non-perfective and is marked ergative in the simple past and perfective aspect.

Kinnauri is rich in person agreement in both simple and complex sentences. Person marking system on verbs is different to each tense and aspect form. Number agreement is not as elaborate in the language. There are no grammatical gender distinctions in the language. In order to identify the gender, words indicating the gender of the speaker are used and in other cases the distinction is context-based.

The language also shows object-verb agreement. Object in first person and second person pronoun show agreement with the verb but not in case of the third person pronoun. /-c/ is the marker of object agreement in both person. In a sentence where the subject is marked for ergativity and the direct object also takes a case, the verb cannot agree with ether of the arguments and rather takes default form. The default finite verb system in Kinnauri has the simple past tense. The occurrence of ergative marker in subject NPs is also related to discourse-related factors. In standard ergative definitions, ergative case should occur only with transitive verbs. It occurs almost

obligatorily with the subject of the NPs of transitive clause. Kinnauri makes frequent use of CVs, in the combination of N+V or V+V.

6.2 Summary of Ergative Agreement

Kinnauri shows verbal agreement with subject in both intransitive and transitive i.e. A/S in all person and number. Since the language lack a grammatical gender so gender agreement is also absent. Kinnauri show distinct agreement markings in honorific and non honorific. In very rare cases verbal agrees with objects, only when the objects are first and second person pronouns. Verbs do not show agreement with the third person pronoun objects. The object agreement occurs in all tenses and aspects.

In case of case marking, Kinnauri attests ergative case affixed to the transitive verbs in perfective aspects and simple past tense. Ergative markers being –s with a phonological variant –is. The later is affixed to the transitive subjects ending in consonants and -s is affixed to other subjects.

Ergative literature on Kinnauri, some of them being Saxena (2011) and Nishi (1990), have noted that ergative markers are attested on transitive subjects in perfective and simple past, optionally in case of subjects in first person and second person, and almost obligatorily in third person subjects. I didn't found enough evidence in my data for such a generalization. I found that ergative markers appear with the transitive subjects in all persons in perfective and past tense almost obligatorily. The speakers though agreed that by dropping the ergative case, the sentence will still be grammatically correct construction but insisted that the constructions with an ergative markers is more natural. Saxena (2011) noted that ergative in Kinnauri have a discourse function. Though, this inquiry, I could not work in detail, it leaves ample space for a future project of similar objectives of inquiring in a much broader perspective.

6.3 Limitations and Suggestions

The thesis described and analyzed the data within the typological framework and limited the analysis to morphological description of case marking and cross referencing. It was found that Kinnauri ergativity has semantic and discourse functions but the present thesis didn't account for it due to limitations of time and resources. Elicited data formed part of the discussions in the thesis; discourse functions would warrant analysis of spoken speech acts and oral narratives. I focused on ergativity in transitive clauses and complex predicates. Among the goals for future researchers, an interesting area would be to compare the languages of Kinnauri which is an ignored area. It would be interesting to see the alignment patterning in these languages. There are many loan words in Kinnauri which also require a detailed study. To fully understand the discourse functions of Kinnauri, speech acts of elderly and youths will have to be investigation because the typology and social interferences lay a role in change in language form and meaning. Ergativity is very complex and a vast area of study, the present study of Kinnauri is part

End Notes

ⁱ According to the UNESCO Atlas of Languages in Danger, Kinnauri is a definitely endangered language.

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Ergativity in Kinnauri

Harvinder Kumar Negi

This thesis has sought to explore and focus on the describe ergativity in Kinnauri, a Tibeto-Burman language of Kinnaura tribe of western Himalayas in North India. The description and analysis of the data in the thesis was done within the typological framework with the aim to analyze, describe and compare the ergativity pattern in the language, keeping Dixon's primitives S, A, and O at the centre of describing morphological marking and cross referencing in Kinnauri. Such a framework was most suited for describing languages considering that it is primed to be a general typological study to understand the alignment pattern in a language which has not been described so far.

Kinnauri shows verbal agreement with subject in both intransitive and transitive i.e. A/S in all person and number. Since the language lack a grammatical gender so gender agreement is also absent. Kinnauri show distinct agreement markings in honorific and non honorific. In very rare cases verbal agrees with objects, only when the objects are first and second person pronouns. Verbs do not show agreement with the third person pronoun objects. The object agreement occurs in all tenses and aspects.

In case of case marking, Kinnauri attests ergative case affixed to the transitive verbs in perfective aspects and simple past tense. Ergative markers being –s with a phonological variant –is. The later is affixed to the transitive subjects ending in consonants and -s is affixed to other subjects.

ERGATIVITY IN KINNAURI

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Linguistics

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September 2017

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to explore and focus on the describe ergativity in Kinnauri, a Tibeto-Burman language of Kinnaura tribe of western Himalayas in North India. The thesis has six chapters introducing the issues related to the goals of the study, the theoretical background and the distribution of ergativity in Kinnauri. Besides, the thesis provided information on land, people and their history followed by a general description of language, its genetic classification, vitality status, an account of previous studies and an analysis of Kinnauri to determine typological and morphological characteristics of the language keeping in view the typology of Tibeto-Burman languages and structural type of other languages that exhibits ergativity. The description and analysis of the data in the thesis was done within the typological framework with the aim to analyze, describe and compare the ergativity pattern in the language, keeping Dixon's primitives S, A, and O at the centre of describing morphological marking and cross referencing in Kinnauri. Such a framework was most suited for describing languages considering that it is primed to be a general typological study to understand the alignment pattern in a language which has not been described so far.

6.1 Summary of the Thesis

This thesis looked into ergativity in Kinnauri in a typological framework, thus looking at the morphological ergativity in the language. In doing so, a detailed analysis and discussion has been undertaken in this research work. Kinnauri has been provided as a reference point to compare the morphological variations in the ergative languages.

At the outset of the chapter, preliminaries were discussed that included the details of topography, history and the literature on Kinnauri. Kinnauri is a language of the Kinnaura tribe in the rugged mountainous region in the northeastern side of Himachal Pradesh, called Kinnaur. People here are animist in their beliefs, are hardworking and lively. Till recent, the region was inaccessible to the outside world. Special permit was issued by the district administration to visit the region. This was done to preserve the indigenous tribe and their language, culture and their livelihood. The isolation benefitted them in maintaining their identity which otherwise was under threat due to modernization. The region has many other language varieties which are all sometimes called Kinnauri collectively. The data discussed in the thesis is from Ropa valley which is also called the standard variety because it is spoken and is intelligible to majority of people. In the past, Kinnaur has been a buffer region between the present day northern side of India and the wandering tribes like the Kirats from the Nepal hills, Mongols from the Tibetan plateau, and the Khash from the plains of Nepal. The ancient Hindu texts like Vedas and Puranas, provides evidence to belief that the region was also inhabited by the Indo-Aryan and the Munda speaking people from the northern plains and central India respectively, in the early parts of 5th c. The effect of the amalgamation of language and culture is evident from the life and language of present day Kinnaura tribe. There is much cultural and linguistic similarity in Kinnaur with the mentioned regions. Kinnauri language is full of words from Munda, Tibetan, Kirati, Burushaski, and Sanskrit. In recent times, many words from Hindi and Pahari (a form of Punjabi) have found space in Kinnauri due to increased mixing of the populations and access to education. The classification of Kinnauri as given in the thesis is based on Benedict (1972) and Shaffer (1954). The language belongs to the West-Himalayish (WH) subgroup of Tibeto-Burman language family. Kinnauri is a

vulnerable languageⁱ due to shrinking domain of use under pressure from dominating languages like Hindi and English which are considered, unfortunately, the language of opportunities and prestige. Considering that it is an oral language, survival of the language and the culture looks alarmingly bleak (Negi 2012). Previous studies in Kinnauri were done during the British rule in India by the officials and traveler. Their description provides a glimpse into early life and the status of use of language. In recent times, many linguists and other scholars have shown keen interest to describe the language.

The typological characteristics of Kinnauri and described the phonology, syntax and morphology of the language is provided in the last section of the chapter. Based on Greenberg Universals (1963), Kinnauri has been classified, although the Universals are no longer considered Universal. Typologically, Kinnauri shares similarities in its morphology and syntax with other Tibeto-Burman languages. It is a head final with a SOV constituent order. The core arguments precede the verb; in a transitive verb the argument 'A' will precede the argument 'O.' Speakers though may move the arguments depending upon pragmatics factors. Kinnauri subjects shows person and number agreement with the verb and object agreement when the object is in first or second person pronoun. Other attested features are- adjective precedes head in the noun phrase; modifiers precede the head noun; causative occurs after main verb; marker of comparison follows the standard of comparison; negatives are pre-verbal; auxiliary follows the main verb; anaphor follows the antecedent and main clause precedes the subordinate clause. It exhibits some exceptions in SOV language features. SOV language should have prepositional genitives and adjective should follow noun but Kinnauri has postpositional genitive and the adjective precedes the noun.

Chapter two presents a concise account of the theoretical background of ergativity and a pertinent review of the core concepts associated with it. Starting with the work on Dixon and Comrie, the study goes on to embark upon the major contributions to the ergative literature in a typological framework.

Chapter Three gives an overview of relevant properties of Kinnauri morphology and syntax bringing under the gamut case system, agreement and the tense system.

In chapter four, Kinnauri data was examined and analyzed in order to determine the alignment typology in the language. In Kinnauri, ergativity manifest at morphological level. At the morphological level, Kinnauri shows ergative characteristics in its case morphology and agreement behavior. The subject of a transitive verb ‘A’ is overtly marked ergative with the affixes -s and -is; the markers used depending on the phonological environment. The subject NPs ending with a vowel takes -s and the subject NPs ending with a consonant takes -is as ergative case. Nominative and absolutive case in Kinnauri languages is morphologically nul. Likewise, subject of intransitive verb and object of transitive verb are not be overtly assigned a morphological case.

Kinnauri is a split ergative language, like most South Asian languages. Subject NPs are marked nominative in the non-perfective and is marked ergative in the simple past and perfective aspect.

Kinnauri is rich in person agreement in both simple and complex sentences. Person marking system on verbs is different to each tense and aspect form. Number agreement is not as elaborate in the language. There are no grammatical gender distinctions in the language. In order to identify the gender, words indicating the gender of the speaker are used and in other cases the distinction is context-based.

The language also shows object-verb agreement. Object in first person and second person pronoun show agreement with the verb but not in case of the third person pronoun. /-c/ is the marker of object agreement in both person. In a sentence where the subject is marked for ergativity and the direct object also takes a case, the verb cannot agree with ether of the arguments and rather takes default form. The default finite verb system in Kinnauri has the simple past tense. The occurrence of ergative marker in subject NPs is also related to discourse-related factors. In standard ergative definitions, ergative case should occur only with transitive verbs. It occurs almost

obligatorily with the subject of the NPs of transitive clause. Kinnauri makes frequent use of CVs, in the combination of N+V or V+V.

6.2 Summary of Ergative Agreement

Kinnauri shows verbal agreement with subject in both intransitive and transitive i.e. A/S in all person and number. Since the language lack a grammatical gender so gender agreement is also absent. Kinnauri show distinct agreement markings in honorific and non honorific. In very rare cases verbal agrees with objects, only when the objects are first and second person pronouns. Verbs do not show agreement with the third person pronoun objects. The object agreement occurs in all tenses and aspects.

In case of case marking, Kinnauri attests ergative case affixed to the transitive verbs in perfective aspects and simple past tense. Ergative markers being –s with a phonological variant –is. The later is affixed to the transitive subjects ending in consonants and -s is affixed to other subjects.

Ergative literature on Kinnauri, some of them being Saxena (2011) and Nishi (1990), have noted that ergative markers are attested on transitive subjects in perfective and simple past, optionally in case of subjects in first person and second person, and almost obligatorily in third person subjects. I didn't found enough evidence in my data for such a generalization. I found that ergative markers appear with the transitive subjects in all persons in perfective and past tense almost obligatorily. The speakers though agreed that by dropping the ergative case, the sentence will still be grammatically correct construction but insisted that the constructions with an ergative markers is more natural. Saxena (2011) noted that ergative in Kinnauri have a discourse function. Though, this inquiry, I could not work in detail, it leaves ample space for a future project of similar objectives of inquiring in a much broader perspective.

6.3 Limitations and Suggestions

The thesis described and analyzed the data within the typological framework and limited the analysis to morphological description of case marking and cross referencing. It was found that Kinnauri ergativity has semantic and discourse functions but the present thesis didn't account for it due to limitations of time and resources. Elicited data formed part of the discussions in the thesis; discourse functions would warrant analysis of spoken speech acts and oral narratives. I focused on ergativity in transitive clauses and complex predicates. Among the goals for future researchers, an interesting area would be to compare the languages of Kinnauri which is an ignored area. It would be interesting to see the alignment patterning in these languages. There are many loan words in Kinnauri which also require a detailed study. To fully understand the discourse functions of Kinnauri, speech acts of elderly and youths will have to be investigation because the typology and social interferences lay a role in change in language form and meaning. Ergativity is very complex and a vast area of study, the present study of Kinnauri is part

End Notes

ⁱ According to the UNESCO Atlas of Languages in Danger, Kinnauri is a definitely endangered language.